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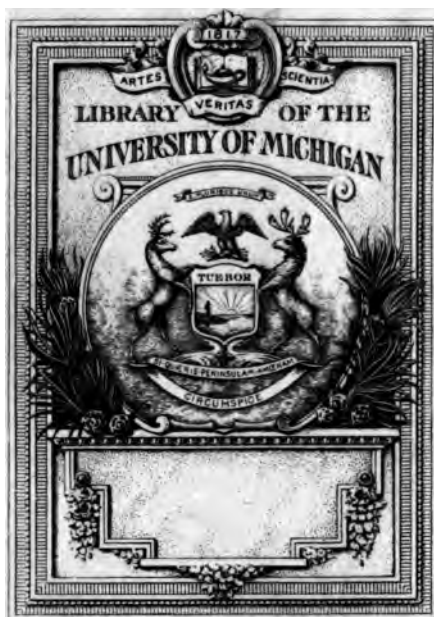
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THUCYDIDES
HISTORIES
BOOK III

EDITED
WITH NOTES, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS

BY
HERBERT F. FOX, M.A.
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M D CCCC I

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK

MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

THIS book has been written for schoolboys, and, in consequence, a more dogmatical tone has sometimes been assumed than would be becoming in a work designed for a different class of readers. I have not thought it necessary to refer by name, except very rarely, to any of the well-known editors of Thucydides, whose notes I have read and often used. Their names would mean nothing to schoolboys, and it is a pity to load their memories with useless and pedantic knowledge. I have prefixed no historical introduction to the edition, since the period embraced in the book can be found fully dealt with in any of the admirable smaller histories of Greece that have been written for the use of schools. But I have made a few remarks on the peculiarities of Thucydides' style, by which I hope the notes may be made more intelligible, and I have given a short account of the existing manuscripts. I have to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. H. S. Jones, of Trinity, who read my notes in MS.; of the Provost of Oriel, who read the first thirty chapters, and in particular of Mr. W. H. Forbes, of Balliol, who corrected my notes in

proof, and assisted me with many valuable suggestions. I regret that Mr. A. W. Spratt's learned edition came into my hands too late to be of substantial service. The text of this book was prepared by Mr. H. S. Jones for the Oxford Classical Texts.

INTRODUCTION

THE difficulty and harshness of the style of Thucydides were recognized by the ancients. Cicero writes of his speeches—‘*ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias vix ut intelligantur.*’ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who is by no means blind to the historian’s great merits, to the force, precision and nobility of his language, finds fault with his obscurity and disregard of the ordinary rules of grammar. ‘Few are they,’ he says, ‘who can understand the whole of Thucydides, and even the few are often at a loss without the aid of a commentary.’ He complains of the freedom with which the writer ‘changes substantives into verbs and verbs into substantives, turns actives into passives and passives into actives, and groups together singulars and plurals, masculines feminines and neuters on no grammatical principle.’ And again he mentions his exaggerated fondness of condensation and concentration, his brevity that is often obscure.

It is plain then that ancient readers found Thucydides hard to understand. Modern readers must acquiesce in his difficulty and be cautious in laying to the account of the manuscripts a fault which, we are told on excellent authority, belonged to the writer himself. Recent editors have been too ready to assume that an author who is sometimes clear and simple should be clear and simple always, that the *speeches* which deal with ideas, which expound political principles and bring out the concealed meaning and inward logic of events and situations should be as intelligible as the *narrative* which relates plain facts. As a matter of fact the narrative abounds in grammatical irregularities and anacolutha, differing only in degree from those which are found in the speeches, and attributable, in the view of the present editor, to other causes than the faultiness of the manuscripts.

There is to be sure no manuscript of Thucydides of such paramount importance as the Laurentian manuscript of Sophocles, and it is true that all the existing manuscripts show traces either of carelessness or, what is worse, of conscious alteration: but the faults of one manuscript can frequently be corrected by the help of others, and the errors are mostly of a definite and recurring nature, and do not affect the writer's meaning to any appreciable degree. How dangerous it is to rewrite an ancient author has recently been exemplified by the discovery at Oxyrhynchus of a papyrus fragment containing a small portion of Book IV, a book which has been treated in a very drastic manner by a distinguished editor, who is of opinion that the text of Thucydides has suffered much from the insertion of 'adscripts' or notes of commentators. The fragment, which is ascribed to the first century, is far from confirming this hypothesis. One $\sigma\tau\iota$ is omitted to the great improvement of the syntax and sense (and that single words such as $\sigma\tau\iota$, $o\iota$, $\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\sigma\tau$ can easily fall out or be inserted had been already suspected), but otherwise the text agrees in the main with the text of the existing manuscripts.

The difficulties of Thucydides are therefore due to other cause than the ignorance or carelessness of his copyists. They are due in part to the nature of the man himself, in part to the condition under which he wrote. Nor must it be too hastily assumed that the irregularities and solecisms which are found in the pages of Thucydides occur in no other Greek writer. They are to be found in all Greek writers, only in a less degree. That 'change of intention of which so much is said in this commentary, could be largely exemplified from both poets and prose writers. Its frequency in Thucydides is due, in part, to the intellectual ardour and impatience of the writer. Thoughts crowd upon him too quickly; *semel in stat sibi*. He begins a sentence with a plan in his mind which is upset by the intrusion of a new idea and, at the end, he is conscious that the thought is clear, and is not so much concerned about grammatical correctness of his sentence. The same tendency may be seen in the writings of St. Augustine, in the speeches of Cromwell, and with them it is due to the same cause.

Thucydides belongs to a certain age, to the age of the sophists and rhetoricians, when Greek literature was only beginning to

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He spared no device to make his style attractive by employing everything that was striking or novel or unexpected. He is fond of archaisms and poetic words and constructions. He is a great coiner of new words, and he often imparts to ordinary words a new and highly imaginative meaning. In the structure of sentences again he is always aiming at effect, and to this are due many of those difficulties which have won him an evil reputation for harshness or obscurity or wilful disregard of the ordinary rules of grammar. It is true that he may be said to disregard the rules of grammar, but he does so often of malice prepense. It is his aim to leave this or that word isolated in the sentence in order that it may be brought into prominent relief, and to this end he often employs μέν—δέ, or τε—καί to oppose or connect words that we do not expect to see opposed or connected. He is guided by the same rhetorical considerations in his arrangement of words. The 'object' is often separated by a long interval from the word on which it depends, or the salient word in the sentence is put first so as to surprise or strike the reader, or for the same reason it is put last.

The general effect of these devices is that the reader's mind is attracted to the details rather than to the general effect of the sentence. Nothing could be more unlike the style of Plato or Demosthenes, who had learnt to conceal their art. The style of Thucydides is self-conscious in the highest degree, it is artificial and rhetorical; but it is powerful, striking, passionate, and if the reader misses the intellectual satisfaction which he finds in the best prose of the Attic age, he nevertheless at every turn feels himself face to face with a strong original mind, whose working he is the better able to trace through the artificial medium in which it finds expression.

In one respect Thucydides resembles Propertius. He can be most diffuse or most condensed. There are times when he is unnecessarily verbose. He is so anxious that his readers should fully understand his exact meaning that he labours his points with an unnecessary expenditure of words, he repeats the same thought more than once in a varied form. This is a familiar rhetorical device, but Thucydides carries it to excess, and this redundancy more than anything else has thrown suspicion on the soundness of the manuscript tradition. What seems superfluous is set down as a comment which has been incorporated in the text.

On the other hand he is often so brief, so condensed, that his meaning is nearly lost. He will pass in a single sentence from one idea to another without supplying the grammatical links, the necessary stepping-stones. A good instance of this compression will be found in 3. 59. 2 *ἡμέρας τε ἀναμνησκομεν ἐκείνης ἣ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντες νῦν ἐν τῇδε τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν*. 'And we remind you of that great day on which we did most gloriously at their sides, while now on this day we are like to suffer the most dreadful doom.' Logically *ἣ* belongs only to *πράξαντες*, but grammatically it should be taken with *κινδυνεύομεν*. In any case the sentence has to be expanded before it is intelligible. On the same principle some commentators explain the difficulty of 3. 11. 4 *ἄμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν τοὺς γε ἰσοψήφους ἄκοντας εἰ μή τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆσαν ξυστρατεύειν*. Occasionally he compresses into one construction and one sentence what another writer would express in two, as in 3. 12. 1 *ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὖνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἥμιν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρείχε*. And the same impatience and swiftness of thought are shown in his frequent omissions of such words as the second term of a comparison after a comparative, or of the antecedent of a relative.

There are a large number of manuscripts of Thucydides; but the principal manuscripts on which our text is based are seven in number, known by the capital letters affixed to them by Bekker. They are as follows:—A. Cisalpinus or Italus of the twelfth century, which is in the National Library at Paris. B. Vaticanus of the eleventh century, in the Vatican. C. Laurentianus of the tenth century, at Florence. E. Palatinus of the eleventh century, at Heidelberg. F. Monacensis of the fourteenth century, at Munich. G. Monacensis, of the thirteenth century, at Munich. M, of the eleventh century, in the British Museum.

It is clear from the general similarity of their mistakes that all these manuscripts can be referred to one archetype. But among them two families can be distinguished, one of which is headed by C and the other by B. The family of C contains only one other manuscript, namely G, which agrees closely with C and yet shows sufficient differences to give it something of an independent value. To the family of B belong, first and nearest, A, which is derived apparently from the same original; F and E at a longer interval.

E holds a more independent position than the other members of its group and is occasionally found in agreement with CG. M, to which one editor has assigned a position altogether beyond its merits, hold a middle position between the two families, agreeing now with one, now with the other.

Editors are divided on the question of the relative importance of B and C. For a long time B was assigned the first place, and it is true that for certain books, i. e. for part of the sixth and all the seventh and eighth books, it holds a peculiar position and is either founded on a better original or has been carefully edited and corrected. But for the other books its value is not so great, and the errors which it exhibits are the more dangerous that they seem to be errors of design. In other words it shows many traces of a corrector's hand. Recent editors have given greater weight to the authority of C, and the editor of the text of the present edition prefers its tradition in doubtful cases to that of the other family of manuscripts. The authority of this manuscript is naturally of the highest value when it is confirmed by the support of M and E.

In this book of Thucydides two chapters (17 and 84) will be found enclosed in brackets, and in the notes evidence has been collected to show that they are not the work of Thucydides. The evidence against them is certainly strong, and it is difficult to believe that they represent at any rate the writer's final work. But it must be remembered that Thucydides left his history unfinished, and it is likely that some passages were unrevised, of which chapter 84 may be one.

Occasional reference is made in the notes to various external authorities, apart from the actual manuscripts, by which we are assisted in establishing the text of Thucydides. Principal among these is the writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who in his work on Thucydides often makes long quotations from the history, which exhibit marked variations from the ordinary text. Unfortunately, however, the text of this writer has been transmitted to us in such an unsatisfactory condition that his assistance is deprived of nearly all its value. When however he is found agreeing with one manuscript against the others some weight may be attached to his authority. Importance has sometimes been given to the Latin translation of the history made by Laurent Valla in 1452, and commentaries

abound in references to his work as to an authority, but we have no evidence that the translator had access to any manuscript older or better than those which are known to us. Occasional assistance may be derived from the scholia, and from the works of such writers as Pollux and Stephanus of Byzantium who had very early manuscripts before them.

Reference has already been made to the papyrus fragment of great palaeographical value which was recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus. Until more documents of this kind are exhumed no further light is likely to be thrown upon the text of Thucydides. It may be noticed that the single voice of any value that comes to us from antiquity (the inscription recording the treaty with Argos, unearthed in Athens in 1877, stands on a different footing) actually confirms the authority of the received text, and it is probable that this fortunate discovery will serve to check the tide of destructive criticism which, starting from an unverifiable hypothesis, threatened to substitute for the authority of written manuscripts the very fallible ingenuity of individual critics.

SIGLA

A = cod. Parisinus suppl. Gr. 255

B = cod. Vaticanus 126

C = cod. Laurentianus LXIX. 2

E = cod. Palatinus 252

F = cod. Monacensis 430

G = cod. Monacensis 228

M = cod. Britannicus II, 727

A¹B¹ etc. = scriptura a prima manu correcta

a b etc. = scriptura a manu recentiore substituta vel
adscripta

[A] [B] etc. = verba in codice olim exarata hodie vel
evanida vel exesa

γρ. = scriptura signo γρ(*ἀφ'εραι*) addito adscripta

codd. = consensus codicum A B C E F G M

recc. = unus vel plures e codicibus recentioris aevi

vulgo = scriptura in editionibus vulgata

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Γ

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ- 1
 μαχοι ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν·
 ἤγειτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων
 βασιλεὺς. καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσ- 2
 5 βολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίνοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων ὅπῃ
 παρῆκοι, καὶ τὸν πλείστον ὄμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἵργον τὸ μὴ
 προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν.
 ἐμμένοντες δὲ χρόνον οὐ εἶχον τὰ σιτία ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ 3
 διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.
 10 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθύς Λέσβος 2
 πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουλευθέντες μὲν
 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέ-
 ξαντο, ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον
 ἢ διεννοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν 2
 15 καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν καὶ νεῶν πόλῃσιν ἐπέμενον τελε-
 σθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε
 καὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἃ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὄντες 3
 αὐτοῖς διάφοροι καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ αὐτῶν Μυτιληναίων
 ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ
 20 γίνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσὶ τε τὴν Λέσβον
 ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνῃν βίᾳ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει
 ἐπέγυνται· καὶ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται ἤδη, στερήσεσθαι

6 post εἵργον add. διὰ C G

7 προεξιόντας G M : προσεξιόντας cett.

b

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Thucydides belongs to an artificial age, to the age of the sophists and rhetoricians, when Greek prose was only beginning to discover

the possibilities that lay within itself, when it was still self-conscious and brusque, revealing the skeleton of its framework, producing its effects by obvious effort, devoid of harmony and rude in rhythm, but strong, audacious, irresistibly effective. Hitherto the few prose writers of whom we know anything had written as nature bade them. Now they began to write by rules, and the process of development commenced which culminated in the 'period,' *λέξις συνεστραμμένη*, through which Greek prose reached its most perfect form. The epoch of Thucydides, which was also the epoch of Gorgias, Prodicus and Antiphon, has been termed the 'antithetical' epoch. It was Gorgias who adapted to the use of prose the device of presenting ideas and things in pairs, the one illuminating the other by contrast, and students of Thucydides do not need to be reminded that there is no figure more common in his prose than the 'antithesis,' which he sometimes employs with brilliant effect (1. 71), but which sometimes betrays him into a play of words or a sacrifice of sense to sound (3. 40. 1). It was the aim of this school to combine precision with attractiveness. Gorgias was not only most precise in his use of language and most careful in distinguishing apparent synonyms, but he sought to make his style attractive by the use of poetic and archaic words, or startling by coining new words or employing old words in new senses.

Thucydides, it is said, was the pupil of Antiphon. In any case he learnt his art in the school of the sophists. But his creative mind dealt with language with a power and freedom and a grasp of reality unknown to them. He gained from them what has been called the 'grammar of style.' His prose is built on the framework invented by Gorgias, but the structure itself is of a substance and vitality that nothing but genius can bestow.

Like Gorgias he seeks precision. He is most scrupulous in his use of words, most careful to distinguish synonyms, eager to express the subtlest shades of meaning either by modifications of the existing vocabulary (notice his frequent use of the compound for the simple verb), or by the invention of new words or new turns of speech, such as the employment of the neuter participle with the article, which gives a meaning lying between the simple substantive and the abstract verbal noun.

He spared no device to make his style attractive by employing everything that was striking or novel or unexpected. He is fond of archaisms and poetic words and constructions. He is a great coiner of new words, and he often imparts to ordinary words a new and highly imaginative meaning. In the structure of sentences again he is always aiming at effect, and to this are due many of those difficulties which have won him an evil reputation for harshness or obscurity or wilful disregard of the ordinary rules of grammar. It is true that he may be said to disregard the rules of grammar, but he does so often of malice prepense. It is his aim to leave this or that word isolated in the sentence in order that it may be brought into prominent relief, and to this end he often employs μέν—δέ, or τε—καί to oppose or connect words that we do not expect to see opposed or connected. He is guided by the same rhetorical considerations in his arrangement of words. The 'object' is often separated by a long interval from the word on which it depends, or the salient word in the sentence is put first so as to surprise or strike the reader, or for the same reason it is put last.

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Editors are divided on the question of the relative importance of B and C. For a long time B was assigned the first place, and it is true that for certain books, i.e. for part of the sixth and all the seventh and eighth books, it holds a peculiar position and is either founded on a better original or has been carefully edited and corrected. But for the other books its value is not so great, and the errors which it exhibits are the more dangerous that they seem to be errors of design. In other words it shows many traces of a corrector's hand. Recent editors have given greater weight to the authority of C, and the editor of the text of the present edition prefers its tradition in doubtful cases to that of the other family of manuscripts. The authority of this manuscript is naturally of the highest value when it is confirmed by the support of M and E.

In this book of Thucydides two chapters (17 and 84) will be found enclosed in brackets, and in the notes evidence has been collected to show that they are not the work of Thucydides. The evidence against them is certainly strong, and it is difficult to believe that they represent at any rate the writer's final work. But it must be remembered that Thucydides left his history unfinished, and it is likely that some passages were unrevised, of which chapter 84 may be one.

Occasional reference is made in the notes to various external authorities, apart from the actual manuscripts, by which we are assisted in establishing the text of Thucydides. Principal among these is the writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who in his work on Thucydides often makes long quotations from the history, which exhibit marked variations from the ordinary text. Unfortunately, however, the text of this writer has been transmitted to us in such an unsatisfactory condition that his assistance is deprived of nearly all its value. When however he is found agreeing with one manuscript against the others some weight may be attached to his authority. Importance has sometimes been given to the Latin translation of the history made by Laurent Valla in 1452, and commentaries

abound in references to his work as to an authority, but we have no evidence that the translator had access to any manuscript older or better than those which are known to us. Occasional assistance may be derived from the scholia, and from the works of such writers as Pollux and Stephanus of Byzantium who had very early manuscripts before them.

Reference has already been made to the papyrus fragment of great palaeographical value which was recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus. Until more documents of this kind are exhumed no further light is likely to be thrown upon the text of Thucydides. It may be noticed that the single voice of any value that comes to us from antiquity (the inscription recording the treaty with Argos, unearthed in Athens in 1877, stands on a different footing) actually confirms the authority of the received text, and it is probable that this fortunate discovery will serve to check the tide of destructive criticism which, starting from an unverifiable hypothesis, threatened to substitute for the authority of written manuscripts the very fallible ingenuity of individual critics.

SIGLA

A = cod. Parisinus suppl. Gr. 255

B = cod. Vaticanus 126

C = cod. Laurentianus LXIX. 2

E = cod. Palatinus 252

F = cod. Monacensis 430

G = cod. Monacensis 228

M = cod. Britannicus 11, 727

A¹B¹ etc. = scriptura a prima manu correcta

a b etc. = scriptura a manu recentiore substituta vel
adscripta

[A] [B] etc. = verba in codice olim exarata hodie vel
evanida vel exesa

γρ. = scriptura signo γρ(ἀφ'εραι) addito adscripta

codd. = consensus codicum A B C E F G M

recc. = unus vel plures e codicibus recentioris aevi

vulgo = scriptura in editionibus vulgata

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Γ

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ- 1
 μαχοι ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν·
 ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων
 βασιλεὺς. καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσ- 2
 5 βολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίνοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων ὅπῃ
 παρῆκοι, καὶ τὸν πλείστον ὄμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἵργον τὸ μὴ
 προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν.
 ἐμμελῶντες δὲ χρόνον οὐ εἶχον τὰ σιτία ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ 3
 διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.
 10 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθύς Λέσβος 2
 πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουλευθέντες μὲν
 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέ-
 ξαντο, ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον
 ἢ διεννοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν 2
 15 καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν καὶ νεῶν πόλῃσιν ἐπέμενον τελε-
 σθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε
 καὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἃ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Τενέδιοι γὰρ ὄντες 3
 αὐτοῖς διάφοροι καὶ Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ αὐτῶν Μυτιληναίων
 ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν, πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ
 20 γίνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσὶ τε τὴν Λέσβον
 ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει
 ἐπέγυνται· καὶ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται ἤδη, στερήσεσθαι

6 post εἵργον add. διὰ C G

7 προεξιόντας G M : προσεξιόντας cett.

b

- 3 αὐτοὺς Λέσβου. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι (ἦσαν γὰρ τεταλαιπωρη-
 μένοι ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἄρτι καθισταμένους
 καὶ ἀκμάζοντας) μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι Λέσβου
 προσπολεμώσασθαι ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἀκέραιον,
 καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο τὸ πρῶτον τὰς κατηγορίας, μείζον μέρος 5
 νέμοντας τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι καὶ
 πέμψαντες πρέσβεις οὐκ ἔπειθον τοὺς Μυτιληναίους τὴν τε
 ξυνοίκισιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, δεισάσας προκατά-
 2 λαβεῖν ἐβούλουντο. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐξαπιναιῶς τεσσαρά-
 κοντα ναῦς αἱ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμέναι 10
 πλεῖν. Κλεῖππιδης δὲ ὁ Δειώλου τρίτος αὐτὸς ἐστρατήγει.
 3 ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὥς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἕξω
 τῆς πόλεως ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἑορτάζουσι,
 καὶ ἐλπῖδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπείσειν ἄφνω, καὶ ἦν μὲν
 15 ξυμβῆ ἡ πεῖρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῖν ναῦς τε παρα-
 δοῦναι καὶ τείχη καθελεῖν, μὴ πειθομένων δὲ πολεμεῖν.
 4 καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες ᾤχοντο· τὰς δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων δέκα
 τριῆρεις, αἱ ἔτυχον βοηθοὶ παρὰ σφᾶς κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν
 παροῦσαι, κατέσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἕξ αὐτῶν
 5 ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποίησαντο. τοῖς δὲ Μυτιληναίοις ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν 20
 Ἀθηνῶν διαβὰς ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ περὶ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθὼν,
 ὀλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχῶν, πλῆ χρησάμενος καὶ τριταῖος
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἀφικόμενος ἀγγέλλει τὸν
 ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐς τὸν Μαλόεντα ἐξῆλθον, τά τε
 ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα φαρξάμενοι 25
 4 ἐφύλασσον. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταπλεύ-
 σαντες ὥς ἑώρων, ἀπήγγειλαν μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλ-
 μένα, οὐκ ἑσακούντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐς πόλεμον
 2 καθίσταντο. ἀπαράσκευοι δὲ οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἐξαίφνης
 ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν ἔκπλουν μὲν τινα ἐποίησαντο τῶν 30
 νεῶν ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος, ἔπειτα

5 τὸ om. AB EFM
 26 πολὺ AB EFG

8 ξυνοίκησιν AB FM
 31 ναυμαχίᾳ AB EFM

25 περί Haase

καταδιωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν λόγους ἤδη προ-
 ἔφερον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, βουλόμενοι τὰς ναῦς τὸ παραντίκα,
 εἰ δύναυτο, ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψασθαι. καὶ οἱ 3
 στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι
 5 μὴ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ᾧσι Λέσβῳ πάσῃ πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἀνοκωχὴν 4
 ποιησάμενοι πέμπουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι τῶν
 τε διαβαλλόντων ἕνα, ᾧ μετέμελεν ἤδη, καὶ ἄλλους, εἰ πως
 πείσειαν τὰς ναῦς ἀπελθεῖν ὡς σφῶν οὐδὲν νεωτεριούντων.
 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις 5
 10 τριήρει, λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν, οἱ ὥρμουν ἐν
 τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευον τοῖς
 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προχωρήσειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Λακε- 6
 δαίμονα τалаιπῶρως διὰ τοῦ πελάγους κομισθέντες αὐτοῖς
 ἔπρασσον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἦξει· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν 5
 15 πρέσβεις ὡς οὐδὲν ἦλθον πράξαντες, ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο
 οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης· οὗτοι
 δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, καὶ Ἴμβριοι καὶ Λήμνιοι
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγοι τινὲς συμμάχων. καὶ ἐξοδον μὲν 2
 20 τινὰ πανδημεί ἐποίησαντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσαν
 ἔχοντες οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι οὔτε ἐπηυλίσαντο οὔτε ἐπίστευσαν
 σφίσι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν· ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον,
 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς βουλόμενοι εἰ
 προσγένοιτό τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων
 25 ἀφικνεῖται καὶ Ἑρμαιῶνδας Θηβαῖος, οἱ προαπεστάλησαν
 μὲν τῆς ἀποστάσεως, φθάσαι δὲ οὐ δυνάμενοι τὸν τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἐπίπλουν κρύφα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὕστερον ἐσπλέουσι
 τριήρει, καὶ παρήνουν πέμπειν τριήρῃ ἄλλῃ καὶ πρέσβεις
 μεθ' ἑαυτῶν· καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πολὺ 6
 30 ἐπιρρωσθέντες διὰ τὴν τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἡσυχίαν συμμάχους
 τε προσεκάλουν, οἱ πολὺ θάσσον παρήσαν ὄρωντες οὐδὲν
 ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων, καὶ περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς

- χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἅμ' ἀσέληνον ἐξήσαν· ἡγοῦντο
 δὲ ὅλπερ καὶ τῆς πείρας αἵτιοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
 τάφρον διέβησαν ἢ περιεῖχεν αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προσέμειξαν
 τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας, ἀνὰ τὸ
 σκοτεῶδ' οὐ προῖδόντων αὐτῶν, ψόφῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ 5
 προσιέναι αὐτοὺς ἀντιπαταγοῦντος τοῦ ἀνέμου οὐ κατακου-
 2 σάντων· ἅμα δὲ καὶ διέχοντες πολλὴν ἦσαν, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα
 μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἄλληλα αἰσθησῶ παρέχοι. ἦσαν δὲ
 εὐσταλεῖς τε τῇ ὀπλίσει καὶ τὸν ἀριστερόν μόνον πῆδα
 3 ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. κατὰ 10
 οὖν μεταπύργιον προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, εἰδότες
 ὅτι ἐρήμοι εἰσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες, καὶ
 προσέθεσαν· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι
 ἀνέβαινον, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀμμέας ὁ Κοροΐβου καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη·
 μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἐξ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων 15
 ἀνέβαινον. ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις
 ἐχώρουν, οἷς ἕτεροι κατόπιω τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον, ὅπως
 ἐκείνοι ῥᾶον προσβαλύνειν, καὶ ἔμελλον δώσειε ὅποτε πρὸς
 4 τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶεν. ὥς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο, ἥσθοντο
 οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων φύλακες· κατέβαλε γάρ τις τῶν Πλαταιῶν 20
 ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κεραμίδα, ἣ πεσοῦσα
 5 δοῦπον ἐποίησεν. καὶ αὐτίκα βοή ἦν, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον
 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρμησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἤδει ὅτι ἦν τὸ δεῖνόν
 σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος, καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει
 τῶν Πλαταιῶν ὑπολειμμένοι ἐξεληθόντες προσέβαλον τῷ 25
 τείχει τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τοῦμπαλῶν ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν
 ὑπερέβαινον, ὅπως ἤκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν.
 6 ἐθουρβοῦντο μὲν οὖν κατὰ χώραν μένουτες, βοηθεῖν δὲ
 οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτῶν φυλακῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν
 7 εἰκάσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον. καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐτέ- 30

9 πῆδα μόνον A B E F

14 -ροΐβου—C. 34. 2 καταφυγόντες suppl.

f fol. lxxxi—lxxxv

22 δοῦπον A: ψόφον cett.

25 προσ-

έβαλλον C

26 ἢ C f: ἦ cett. [G]

29 ἐαυτῶν C f: αὐτῶν vel

αὐτῶν cett. [G]

μόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἴσμεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφιστάμενους ἐν τοῖς
πολέμοις καὶ ξυμμαχίαν τήν· πρὶν ἀπολείποντας οἱ δεξάμενοι,
καθ' ὅσον μὲν ὠφελοῦνται, ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι, νομίζοντες δὲ
εἶναι προδότας τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φίλων χεῖρους ἡγοῦνται. καὶ 2
5 οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξιωσίς ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
οἷ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἀφ' ὧν διακρίνονται ἴσοι μὲν τῇ
γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ, ἀντίπαλοι δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ
δυνάμει, πρόφασίς τε ἐπιεικὴς μηδεμία ὑπάρχοι τῆς ἀπο-
στάσεως· ὃ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἦν. μηδὲ τῷ χεῖρους 3
10 δόξωμεν εἶναι εἰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τιμώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς
δεινοῖς ἀφιστάμεθα.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς πρῶτον ἄλλως τε καὶ ξυμ- 10
μαχίας δεόμενοι τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν
ιδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινῶν πόλεσιν ἐς
15 οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνωσθαι
καὶ τὰλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσουντι τῆς
γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων καθίστανται. ἡμῖν δὲ 2
καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἀπολιπόντων μὲν
ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινάντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων
20 πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. ξύμμαχοι μέντοι γεγενόμεθα 3
οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ'
ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν 4
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο, προθύμως εἰπόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρῶ-
μεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν
25 ξυμμάχων δουλώσῃ ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἡμεν,
ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυψηφίαν ἀμύνα- 5
σθαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐδουλώθησαν πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων· ἡμεῖς
δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνοστρα-
τεύσαμεν. καὶ πιστοὺς οὐκέτι εἶχομεν ἡγεμόνας Ἀθηναίους, 6
30 παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χρώμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς
ἦν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνσπόνδους ἐποιήσαντο κατα-

7 ἐπινοία Hude

Ross 26 ἀμύνεσθαι A B E F M suprascr. G

Hude

9 post δ add. καὶ C [G]

25 ἐπιεγομένους

30 προγενομένοις

στρέψασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν,
 11 μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἦμεν ἅπαντες,
 βεβαιότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτεριεῖν· ὑποχειρίλους δὲ
 ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὀμιλοῦντες,
 χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἔμελλον οἴσειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεόν ἤδη 5
 εἶκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρημό-
 2 τεροι. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ζυμμαχίαν·
 ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνων τι βουλόμενος τῷ μὴ προύχων ἂν ἐπελ-
 3 θεῖν ἀποτρέπεται. αὐτόνομοί τε ἐλείφθημεν οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι 10
 ἢ ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρεπεία τε λόγου καὶ γνώμης
 μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο καταληπτὰ.
 4 ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν τοὺς γε ἰσοψήφους
 ἄκοντας, εἰ μὴ τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆσαν, ξυστρατεύειν· ἐν τῷ
 αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους πρώτους. 15
 ζυνεπήγου καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα λιπόντες τοῦ ἄλλου περιηρη-
 5 μένου ἀσθενέστερα ἔμελλον ἔξειν. εἰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡρξάωτο,
 ἐχόντων ἔτι τῶν πάντων αὐτῶν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς ὅτι χρῆ
 6 στήναι, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐχειρώσατο. τό τε ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν
 παρεῖχε τινα φόβον μὴ ποτε καθ' ἐν γενόμενον ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ 20
 7 ἄλλῳ τῷ προσθέμενον κίνδυνον σφίσι παράσχη. τὰ δὲ
 καὶ ἀπὸ θεραπείας τοῦ τε κοικοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ προ-
 8 εστώτων περιεγιγνώμεθα. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺ γ' ἂν ἐδο-
 κοῦμεν δυνήθηναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατέστη, παραδείγμασι
 12 χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους. τίς οὖν αὕτη ἢ φιλία ἐγίγνετο 25
 ἢ ἐλευθερία πιστή, ἐν ἣ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα,
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδιότες ἐθεράπευον, ἡμεῖς δὲ
 ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποιοῦμεν· ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις
 μάλιστα εὖνοια πῶς βεβαιοί, ἡμῶν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν
 παρῆχε, δέει τε τὸ πλεόν ἢ φιλίᾳ κατεχόμενοι ζύμμαχοι 30
 ἦμεν· καὶ ὁποτέρους θάσσον παράσχοι ἀσφάλεια θάρσος,

1 δυνήθειν. Dobree 14 ἐκόντας Schol. alter 16 τὰ secl.
 Krüger 23 δοκοῦμεν Krüger 25 ἢ c f G : ἢ cett. (etiam C,
 ut videtur) 31 ἡμεν] εἶναι C G

οὗτοι πρότεροί τι καὶ παραβήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. ὥστε εἴ τῳ 2
δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν
τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες σαφῶς
εἰδέναι εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἔσται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖ. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ 3
5 ἦμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί
ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι; ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ
ὄντος αἰεὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύ-
νασθαι.

‘Τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας, ὦ Λακεδαι- 13
10 μόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἀπέστημεν, σαφεῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀκούουσι
γινῶναι ὡς εἰκότως ἐδράσαμεν, ἱκανὰς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβῆσαι
καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα τρέψαι, βουλομένους μὲν καὶ
πάλαι, ὅτε ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπέμψαμεν ὡς ὑμᾶς περὶ
ἀποστάσεως, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐ προσδεξαμένων κωλυθέντας· νῦν
15 δὲ ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ προυκαλέσαντο εὐθὺς ὑπηκούσαμεν, καὶ
ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν
Ἑλλήνων μὴ ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ
ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ'
ἐκείνων ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἀλλὰ προποιῆσαι. ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις 2
20 ἡμῶν θάσσον γεγένηται καὶ ἀπαράσκευος· ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον
χρὴ ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων βοήθειαν ἀπο-
στέλλειν, ἵνα φαίνησθε ἀμύνοντές τε οἷς δεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτοντες. καιρὸς δὲ ὥς οὕτω πρότερον. 3
νόσφ τε γὰρ ἐφθάρηται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνη,
25 νῆές τε αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰσὼν, αἱ δ' ἐφ'
ἡμῶν τετάχαται. ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς περιουσίαν νεῶν 4
ἔχειν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ θέρει τῷδε ναυσί τε καὶ περὶ ἅμα
ἐπεσβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον, ἀλλ' ἡ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀμννοῦνται
ἐπιπλέοντας ἢ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται. νομίστη τε 5
30 μηδεὶς ἀλλοτριὰς γῆς πέρι οἰκεῖον κίνδυνον ἔξειν. ᾧ γὰρ
δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι ἡ Λέσβος, τὴν ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύθεν

5 ἀντιμελλῆσαι Schol. alter: ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι vel ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι
codd.: ἀντιμελλῆσαι τι Heilmann, qui post ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι distinxit
6 ἐκείνους εἶναι Krüger

- παρέξει. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος, ὥς τις
 6 οἶεται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ὠφελεῖται. ἔστι δὲ τῶν
 χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡ πρόσοδος, καὶ ἔτι μείζων
 ἔσται, εἰ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψονται· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποστήσεται
 ἄλλος τὰ τε ἡμέτερα προσγενήσεται, πάθοιμὲν τ' ἂν δεινό- 5
 7 τερα ἢ οἱ πρὶν δουλεύοντες. βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως
 πόλιν τε προσλήψεσθε ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν μέγα, οὐπερ ὑμῶν
 μάλιστα προσδεῖ, καὶ Ἀθηναίους ῥᾶον καθαιρήσετε ὑφαι-
 ρούντες αὐτῶν τοὺς συμμάχους (θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις
 προσχωρήσεται), τήν τε αἰτίαν ἀποφεύξεσθε ἣν εἶχετε μὴ 10
 βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις. ἦν δ' ἐλευθεροῦντες φαίνησθε,
 τὸ κράτος τοῦ πολέμου βεβαιότερον ἔξετε.
- 14 Ἀισχυρθέντες οὖν τὰς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδας
 καὶ Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, ἐν οὗ τῳ ἱερῷ ἴσα καὶ ἰκέται ἐσμέν,
 ἐπαμύνατε Μυτιληναῖοι ξύμμαχοι γενόμενοι, καὶ μὴ προήσθε 15
 ἡμᾶς ἴδιον μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους,
 κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθῶσαι ὠφελίαν ἅπασι δώσοντας,
 ἔτι δὲ κοινοτέραν τὴν βλάβην, εἰ μὴ πεισθέντων ὑμῶν
 2 σφαλισσόμεθα. γίνεσθε δὲ ἄνδρες οἷουσπερ ὑμᾶς οἱ τε
 Ἕλληνες ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος βούλεται.' 20
- 15 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν, προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους
 συμμάχους τε τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐποίησαντο, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν τοῖς τε συμμάχοις παροῦσι κατὰ τάχος
 ἐφραζον ἵνα ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν ὥς ποιησό- 25
 μνοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὄλκους παρεσκεύαζον
 τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῳ Ἴσθμῳ ὥς ὑπεροίσουντες ἐκ τῆς Κορινθίου
 ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῳ ἅμα
 2 ἐπιόντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν προθύμως ταῦτα ἔπρασσον, οἱ δὲ
 ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι βραδέως τε ξυνελέγοντο καὶ ἐν καρποῦ 30
 16 συγκομιδῇ ἦσαν καὶ ἀρρωστίᾳ τοῦ στρατεύειν. αἰσθόμενοι
 δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν

παρασκευαζομένους, δηλῶσαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 ἐγνώκασιν ἀλλ' οἱοί τ' εἰσι μὴ κινούμεντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ
 ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ ῥαδίως ἀμύνεσθαι,
 ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς ἑκατὸν ἐσβάντες αὐτοί τε πλὴν ἱππέων
 5 καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίωνων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν
 ἀναγαγόντες ἐπιδειξίν τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἀποβάσεις τῆς
 Πελοποννήσου ἢ δοκοίη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὀρώντες 2
 πολλὴν τὸν παράλογον τά τε ὑπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων ῥηθέντα
 ἡγοῦντο οὐκ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀπορα νομίζοντες, ὥς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ
 10 ξύμμαχοι ἅμα οὐ παρήσαν καὶ ἡγγέλλοντο καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν
 Πελοπόννησον τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν περιοικίδα
 αὐτῶν πορθοῦσαι, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. ὕστερον δὲ ναυ- 3
 τικὸν παρεσκεύαζον ὅτι πέμψουσιν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, καὶ
 κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον τεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλήθος καὶ
 15 ναύαρχον προσέταξαν Ἀλκίδα, ὃς ξέμελλεν ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι.
 ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν, ἐπειδὴ 4
 καὶ ἐκεῖνους εἶδον. [καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃν αἱ 17
 νῆες ἔπλεον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις δὴ νῆες ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ †
 κάλλει ἐγένοντο, παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀρχομένου
 20 τοῦ πολέμου. τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ Σαλα- 2
 μῖνα ἑκατὸν ἐφύλασσον, καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἑτεραι
 ἑκατὸν ἦσαν, χωρὶς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτειδαίαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις
 χωρίοις, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἅμα ἐγγίνοντο ἐν ἐνὶ θέρει διακόσιαι
 καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε 3
 25 μετὰ Ποτειδαίας. τὴν τε γὰρ Ποτειδαίαν διδραχμοὶ ὀπλίται 4
 ἐφρούρουσαν (αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπέρητη δραχμὴν ἐλάμβανε τῆς
 ἡμέρας), τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διεπο-
 λιόρκησαν, ἑξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι μετὰ Φορμίωνος, οἱ
 προαπῆλθον· νῆές τε αἱ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον.
 30 τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπανηλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆες
 τοσαῦται δὴ πλείστοι ἐπληρώθησαν.]

Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 18

- περὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἦσαν ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν ὥς προδιδομένην
 ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ γῆν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἐπικούροι· καὶ
 προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προυχώρει ἢ προσεδέχοντο,
 ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' Ἀντίσσης καὶ Πύρρας καὶ Ἐρέσου, καὶ κατα-
 στησάμενοι τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις βεβαιότερα καὶ 5
 2 τείχη κρατύναντες διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἶκου. ἐστρά-
 τευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ἐπ'
 Ἀντισσαν· καὶ ἐκβοηθείας τινὸς γενομένης πληγέντες ὑπὸ
 τε τῶν Ἀντισσαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων ἀπέθανόν τε πολλοὶ
 3 καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι 10
 πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, τοὺς τε Μυτιληναίους τῆς γῆς κρα-
 τοῦντας καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ὄντας
 εἶργειν, πέμπουσι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἤδη ἀρχόμενον Πάχητα
 4 τὸν Ἐπικούρου στρατηγὸν καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἑαυτῶν. οἱ
 δὲ αὐτερέται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ περι- 15
 τειρίζουσι Μυτιλήνην ἐν κύκλῳ ἀπλῶ τείχει· φρούρια δ'
 5 ἔστιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν ἐγκαταφυκοδόμηται. καὶ ἡ μὲν
 Μυτιλήνη κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἀμφοτέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ
 θαλάσσης εἶργετο, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἤρχετο γίνεσθαι.
- 19 Προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν, 20
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον ἐσφορὰν διακόσια τά-
 λαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους
 2 ναῦς δώδεκα καὶ Λυσικλέα πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ
 ἄλλα τε ἡργυρολόγει καὶ περιέπλει, καὶ τῆς Καρίας ἐκ
 Μυοῦντος ἀναβὰς διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου μέχρι τοῦ 25
 Σανδίου λόφου, ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Καρῶν καὶ Ἀναιτιῶν αὐτοὺς
 τε διαφθείρεται καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατίας πολλοί.
- 20 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Πλαταιῆς (ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορ-
 κοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν) ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε
 σίτῳ ἐπιλείποντι ἐπιέζοντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐδεμία 30
 ἐλπὶς ἦν τιμωρίας οὐδὲ ἄλλη σωτηρία ἐφαίετο, ἐπιβου-

17 ᾗ recc. : οἱ vel οἱ codd. ἐγκατοικοδομεῖται Bloomfield : ἐγκατα-
 φυκοδόμητο Haase : ἐγκαταφυκοδομεῖτο Porro : ἐγκαταφυκοδομήθη Bekker
 26 Σανδῖος Meineke 30 ἐπιλείποντι Naber : ἐπιλιπόντι codd.

λεύουσιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξυμπολιορκούμενοι
 πρῶτον μὲν πάντες ἐξελεῖν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ τεῖχη τῶν
 πολεμίων, ἣν δύνωνται βιάσασθαι, ἐσηγησάμενων τὴν πείραν
 αὐτοῖς Θεαυέτου τε τοῦ Τολμίδου ἀνδρὸς μάντεως καὶ
 5 Εὐπομπίδου τοῦ Δαίμαχου, ὃς καὶ ἐστρατήγει· ἔπειτα οἱ 2
 μὲν ἡμίσεις ἀπώκνησάν πως τὸν κίνδυνον μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι,
 ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἐνέμειναν τῇ
 ἐξόδῳ ἐθέλουται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κλίμακας ἐποίησαντο ἴσας 3
 τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων· ξυνεμετρήσαντο δὲ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς
 10 τῶν πλίνθων, ἥ ἔτυχε πρὸς σφᾶς οὐκ ἐξαλημιμένον τὸ
 τεῖχος αὐτῶν. ἡριθμοῦντο δὲ πολλοὶ ἅμα τὰς ἐπιβολάς, καὶ
 ἔμελλον οἱ μὲν τινας ἁμαρτήσεσθαι οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι
 τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λογισμοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλάκις ἀριθμοῦντες
 καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχοντες, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καθορωμένου ἐς
 15 ὃ ἐβούλουντο τοῦ τεύχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ξυμμέτρησιν τῶν 4
 κλιμάκων οὕτως ἔλαβον, ἐκ τοῦ πάχους τῆς πλίνθου εἰκά-
 σαντες τὸ μέτρον. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν τῶν Πελοποννησίων 21
 τοιόνδε τῇ οἰκοδομήσει. εἶχε μὲν δύο τοὺς περιβόλους,
 πρὸς τε Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἕξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐποίοι,
 20 διείχον δὲ οἱ περίβολοι ἑκατὰ πόδας μάλιστα ἀπ' ἀλλή-
 λων. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο [οἱ ἑκατὰ πόδες] τοῖς φύλαξιν 2
 οἰκήματα διαανεμμένα ὑποκόμηντο, καὶ ἦν ξυνεχὴ ὥστε ἐν
 φαίνεσθαι τεῖχος παχὺ ἐπάλξεις ἔχον ἀμφοτέρωθεν. διὰ 3
 δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἦσαν μεγάλοι καὶ ἰσοπλατεῖς τῷ
 25 τείχει, διήκοντες ἕς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ
 καὶ τὸ ἔσω, ὥστε ἀρόδον μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον, ἀλλὰ δι'
 αὐτῶν μέσων διῆσαν. τὰς οὖν νύκτας, ὅποτε χειμῶν εἴη 4
 νοτερός, τὰς μὲν ἐπάλξεις ἀπέλειπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πύργων
 ὄντων δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἄνωθεν στεγανῶν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο.
 30 τὸ μὲν οὖν τεῖχος ᾧ περιεφρουροῦντο οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιοῦτον
 ἦν. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, τηρήσαντες νύκτα 22

3 ἐσηγησάμενον A B E F M γρ. G 5 Εὐπομπίδου E: Εὐπολπίδου
 cett. 21 οἱ ἑκατὰ πόδες non vertit Valla, secl. Herwerden
 22 ξυνοχή C [G] 26 post καὶ add. ἐς F¹ M

- νότον τῆς πόλεως ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς λιμέσιν 2 ἐποιούντο. καὶ τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυτιληναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐκράτουν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λέσβιοι προσβεβληθέντες ἤδη, 5 τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ κατείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἀγορὰ ἡ Μαλέα. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο.
- 7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν τριάκοντα καὶ 10 Ἀσώπιον τὸν Φορμίωνος στρατηγόν, κελευσάντων Ἀκαρνάνων τῶν Φορμίωνος τινα σφίσι πέμψαι ἢ υἱὸν ἢ ξυγγενὴ 2 ἄρχοντα. καὶ παραπλέουσai αἱ νῆες τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ 3 ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἐπόρθησαν. ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν πλείους ἀποπέμπει τῶν νεῶν πάλιν ἐπ' οἴκου ὁ Ἀσώπιος, αὐτὸς δ' 15 ἔχων δώδεκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ὕστερον Ἀκαρνάνας ἀναστήσας πανδημεὶ στρατεύει ἐπ' Οἰνιάδας, καὶ ταῖς τε ναυσὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἐπλευσε καὶ ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς 4 ἐδήριον τὴν χώραν. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεχώρουν, τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀφίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα καὶ ἀπόβασιν ἐς Νήρικον 20 ποιησάμενος ἀναχωρῶν διαφθείρεται αὐτός τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τι μέρος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτόθεν τε ξυμβοηθησάντων καὶ φρουρῶν τινῶν ὀλίγων. καὶ ὕστερον ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς 5 ἀποπλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λευκαδίων ἐκομίσαντο.
- 8 Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεὼς ἐκπεμφθέντες Μυτιληναίων 25 πρέσβεις, ὥς αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶπον Ὀλυμπίαζε παρῆναι, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀκούσαντες βουλευσονται, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν· ἣν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς ἦ 2 Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν κατέστησαν ἐς λόγους, εἶπον τοιαύδε. 30
- 9 'Τὸ μὲν καθεστὸς τοῖς Ἑλλήσι νόμιμον, ὧ Λακεδαι-

7 ἀγορὰ Krüger : ἀγορὰs codd. 10 περὶ] ἐς A B E F M 22 αὐ-
τόθι C G 31 καθεστὸς (-ὤs) A B F G post & add. ἀνδρες A B E F M

μόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἴσμεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφισταμένους ἐν τοῖς
πολέμοις καὶ ξυμμαχίαν τὴν πρὶν ἀπολείποντας οἱ δεξάμενοι,
καθ' ὅσον μὲν ὠφελοῦνται, ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι, νομίζοντες δὲ
εἶναι προδότας τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φίλων χείρους ἡγούνται. καὶ 2
5 οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσις ἐστίν, εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
οἷ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἀφ' ὧν διακρίνονται ἴσοι μὲν τῇ
γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ, ἀντίπαλοι δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ
δυνάμει, πρόφασις τε ἐπιεικὴς μηδεμίᾳ ὑπάρχοι τῆς ἀπο-
στάσεως· ὃ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἦν. μηδὲ τῷ χείρους 3
10 δόξωμεν εἶναι εἰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τιμώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς
δεινοῖς ἀφιστάμεθα.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς πρῶτον ἄλλως τε καὶ ξυμ- 10
μαχίας δεόμενοι τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν
ιδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωनीαν πόλεσι 15
οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνωσθαι
καὶ τὰλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶναι· ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς
γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων καθίστανται. ἡμῖν δὲ 2
καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἀπολιπόντων μὲν
ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινάντων δὲ ἐκείνων
20 πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα 3
οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ'
ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἑλλησι. καὶ μέχρι μὲν 4
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγούντο, προθύμως εἰσόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρῶ-
μεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν
25 ξυμμάχων δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἄδεῖς ἐτι ἡμεν,
ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυψηφίαν ἀμύνα- 5
σθαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐδουλώθησαν πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων· ἡμεῖς
δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρα-
τεύσαμεν. καὶ πιστοὺς οὐκέτι εἶχομεν ἡγεμόνας Ἀθηναίους, 6
30 παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χρώμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς
ἦν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνσπόνδους ἐποιήσαντο κατα-

7 ἐπινολί Hude 9 post ἡ add. καὶ C [G]
Ross 26 ἀμύνεσθαι A B E F M suprascr. G
Hude

25 ἐπειγομένους
30 προγενομένοις

στρέψασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν,
 II μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἦμεν ἅπαντες,
 βεβαιώτεροι ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μὴδὲν νεωτεριεῖν· ὑποχειρίους δὲ
 ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὀμιλοῦντες,
 χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἔμελλον οἴσσειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεόν ἤδη 5
 εἶκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔτι μόνου ἀντισυμμένον, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρημό-
 2 τεροι. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ζυμμαχίαν·
 ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνων τι βουλόμενος τῷ μὴ προύχων ἂν ἐπελ-
 3 θεῖν ἀποτρέπεται. αὐτόνομοί τε ἐλείφθημεν οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι 10
 ἢ ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρεπείᾳ τε λόγου καὶ γνώμης
 μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο καταληπτὰ.
 4 ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν τοὺς γε ἰσοψηφούς
 ἄκοντας, εἰ μὴ τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆσαν, ξυστρατεύειν· ἐν τῷ
 αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους πρῶτους. 15
 ξυνεπῆγον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα λιπόντες τοῦ ἄλλου περιηρη-
 5 μένου ἀσθενέστερα ἔμελλον ἔξειν. εἰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἤρξαντο,
 ἐχόντων ἔτι τῶν πάντων αὐτῶν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς ὅτι χρῆ
 6 στήναι, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐχειρώσωντο. τό τε ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν
 παρεῖχε τινα φόβον μή ποτε καθ' ἐν γενόμενον ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ 20
 7 ἄλλῳ τῷ προσθέμενον κίνδυνον σφίσι παράσχη. τὰ δὲ
 καὶ ἀπὸ θεραπείας τοῦ τε κοινοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ προ-
 8 εστῶτων περιεγιγνώμεθα. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺ γ' ἂν ἐδο-
 κοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατέστη, παραδείγμασι
 12 χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους. τίς οὖν αὕτη ἢ φίλᾳ ἐγίγνετο 25
 ἢ ἐλευθερίᾳ πιστή, ἐν ᾗ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα,
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδιότες ἐθεράπευν, ἡμεῖς δὲ
 ἐκεῖνους ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποιούμεν· ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις
 μάλιστα εὖνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν
 παρῆχε, δέει τε τὸ πλεόν ἢ φίλᾳ κατεχόμενοι ζύμμαχοι 30
 ἦμεν· καὶ ὁποτέρους θάσσον παράσχοι ἀσφάλεια θάρσος,

I δυνηθεῖεν. Dobree 14 ἐκόντας Schol. alter 16 τὰ secl.
 Krüger 23 δοκοῦμεν Krüger 25 ἢ c f G: ἢ cett. (etiam C,
 ut videtur) 31 ἦμεν] εἶναι C G

οὗτοι πρότερόι τι καὶ παραβήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. ὥστε εἴ τῳ 2
δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν
τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δευῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες σαφῶς
εἰδέναι εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἔσται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖ. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ 3
5 ἦμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί
ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι; ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ
ὄντος αἰεὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύ-
νασθαι.

‘Τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας, ὦ Λακεδαι- 13
10 μόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἀπέστημεν, σαφεῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀκούουσι
γινῶναι ὡς εἰκότως ἐδράσαμεν, ἱκανὰς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβῆσαι
καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα τρέψαι, βουλομένους μὲν καὶ
πάλλαι, ὅτε ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπέμψαμεν ὡς ὑμᾶς περὶ
ἀποστάσεως, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐ προσδεξαμένων κωλυθέντας· νῦν
15 δὲ ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ προυκαλέσαντο εὐθὺς ὑπηκούσαμεν, καὶ
ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν
Ἑλλήνων μὴ ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ
ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ'
ἐκείνων ἐν ὑστέρφ ἀλλὰ προποιῆσαι. ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις 2
20 ἡμῶν θάσσον γεγένηται καὶ ἀπαράσκευος· ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον
χρὴ ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων βοήθειαν ἀπο-
στέλλειν, ἵνα φαίνησθε ἀμύνοντές τε οἷς δεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτοντες. καιρὸς δὲ ὡς οὐπω πρότερον. 3
νόσφ τε γὰρ ἐφθάρηται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνη,
25 νῆές τε αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰσὼν, αἱ δ' ἐφ'
ἡμῶν τετάχαται. ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς περιουσίαν νεῶν 4
ἔχειν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ θέρει τῷδε ναυσὶ τε καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα
ἐπεσβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον, ἀλλ' ἡ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀμνυοῦνται
ἐπιπλέοντας ἢ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται. νομίσῃ τε 5
30 μηδεὶς ἀλλοτριὰς γῆς πέρι οἰκείου κίνδυνον ἔξω. ᾧ γὰρ
δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι ἡ Λέσβος, τὴν ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύθεν

5 ἀντιμελλῆσαι Schol. alter: ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι vel ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι
codd.: ἀντιμελλῆσαι τι Heilmann, qui post ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι distinxit
6 ἐκείνους λέγει Krüger

- 4 δέοντας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον δίδοται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς
 ὁμοίους τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν πολεμίους ὑπολειπομένους. ἐν
 τε ξυνελὼν λέγω· πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ τά τε δίκαια ἐς
 Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε, ἄλλως δὲ
 γνόντες τοῖς μὲν οὐ χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον 5
 δικαιώσεσθε. εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ
 χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ προσήκον ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε
 τοῦτο δρᾶν, παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς τοι καὶ τούσδε ξυμφόρως δεῖ
 κολάζεσθαι, ἢ παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου
 5 ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ ἀξιώσατε ἀμύνασθαι 10
 καὶ μὴ ἀναλγητότεροι οἱ διαφεύγοντες τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων
 φανῆναι, ἐνθυμηθέντες ἃ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι κρατή-
 6 σαντας ὑμῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ προὔπαρξαντας ἀδικίας. μάλιστα
 δὲ οἱ μὴ ξὺν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς ποιοῦντες ἐπεξέρχονται
 καὶ διολλύναι, τὸν κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου 15
 ἐχθροῦ· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθὼν χαλεπώτερος δια-
 φυγῶν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ.
 7 ‘Μὴ οὖν προδόται γένησθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, γενόμενοι δ’ ὅτι
 ἐγγύτατα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ ὥς πρὸ παντὸς ἂν
 ἐτιμήσασθε αὐτοὺς χειρώσασθαι, νῦν ἀνταπόδοτε μὴ μαλακι- 20
 σθέντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα μηδὲ τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος
 ποτὲ δεῖνοῦ ἀμνημονοῦντες. κολάσατε δὲ ἀξίως τούτους τε
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις παράδειγμα σαφὲς καταστήσατε,
 ὃς ἂν ἀφιστῇται, θανάτῳ ζημιωσόμενον. τόδε γὰρ ἦν
 γνώσω, ἦσσαν τῶν πολεμίων ἀμελήσαντες τοῖς ὑμετέροις 25
 αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθε ξυμμάχοις.’
 41 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέων εἶπεν· μετὰ δ’ αὐτὸν Διόδοτος ὁ
 Εὐκράτους, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντέλεγε
 μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους, παρελθὼν καὶ τότε
 ἔλεγε τοιάδε. 30
 42 ‘Οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὐθις περὶ Μυτι-

2 ὁμοίως Thiersch
 διόλλυνται codd.

3 τε C: δὲ cett.
 19 ἐγγύτατα τῇ C: ἐγγυτάτῃ cett. [G]

15 διολλύναι Stahl:

ληναίων αἰτιῶμαι, οὔτε τοὺς μεμφομένους μὴ πολλάκις περὶ
 τῶν μεγίστων βουλευέσθαι ἐπαυῶ, νομίζω δὲ δύο τὰ
 ἐναυτιώτατα εὐβουλία εἶναι, τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήν, ὧν τὸ μὲν
 μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ
 5 βραχύτητος γνώμης. τοὺς τε λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ 2
 διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἀξύνετός ἐστιν ἢ
 ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει· ἀξύνετος μὲν, εἰ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἡγείται
 περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐμφανοῦς φράσαι,
 διαφέρει δ' αὐτῷ, εἰ βουλόμενός τι αἰσχρὸν πείσαι εἶ μὲν
 10 εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἡγείται περὶ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δύνασθαι, εἶ δὲ
 διαβαλὼν ἐκπλήξαι ἂν τοὺς τε ἀντεροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκου-
 σομένους. χαλεπώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προσκατη- 3
 γοροῦντες ἐπιδειξίν τινα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κατηγιώντο,
 ὁ μὴ πείσας ἀξυνετώτερος ἂν δόξας εἶναι ἢ ἀδικώτερος
 15 ἀπεχώρει· ἀδικίας δ' ἐπιφερομένης πείσας τε ὑποπτος γί-
 γνεται καὶ μὴ τυχὼν μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας καὶ ἀδικος. ἥ τε πόλις 4
 οὐκ ὠφελείται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· φόβῳ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖται τῶν
 συμβούλων. καὶ πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν
 ἔχουσα τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἂν
 20 πεισθεῖεν ἀμαρτάνειν. χρή δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην μὴ 5
 ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου φαίνεσθαι
 ἄμεινον λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ σῶφρονα πόλιν τῷ τε πλείστα εἶ
 βουλευόντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ μῆδ' ἐλασσοῦν τῆς
 ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης οὐχ ὅπως ζημιοῦν
 25 ἀλλὰ μῆδ' ἀτιμάζειν. οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τε κατορθὼν ἥκιστα ἂν 6
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι μειζύνων ἀξιούσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς
 χάριν λέγοι, ὁ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχὼν ὀρέγοιτο τῷ αὐτῷ χαρίζο-
 μένός τι καὶ αὐτὸς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλήθος.

Ὡν ἡμεῖς τὰναντία δρώμεν, καὶ προσέτι ἦν τις καὶ 43
 30 ὑποπτεύηται κέρδους μὲν ἔνεκα τὰ βέλτιστα δὲ ὅμως λέγειν,
 φθονήσαντες τῆς οὐ βεβαίου δοκῆσεως τῶν κερδῶν τὴν

2 δὲ G M : τε cett.
 κατηγοροῦντες C

9 διαφέρει Schol. : διαφέρω codd.
 13 ἀντιδείξιν f G M

12 προ-
 26 τὸ A B E F M

- 2 φανεράν ὠφελίαν τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα. καθέστηκε δὲ
τάγαθὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα μηδὲν ἀνυποπτότερα εἶναι
τῶν κακῶν, ὥστε δεῖν ὁμοίως τὸν τε τὰ δευότατα βουλό-
μενον πείσαι ἀπάτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν τὰ
3 ἀμείνω λέγοντα ψευσάμενον πιστὸν γενέσθαι. μόνην τε 5
πόλιν διὰ τὰς περαιοίας εὖ ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς μὴ
ἐξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον· ὁ γὰρ διδοὺς φανερώς τι ἀγαθὸν
4 ἀνυποπτεύεται ἀφανῶς πῃ πλέον ἔξω. χρὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ
μέγιστα καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦν τι ἡμᾶς περαιτέρω προνο-
οῦντας λέγειν ὑμῶν τῶν δι' ὀλίγον σκοπούντων, ἄλλως τε 10
καὶ ὑπεύθυνον τὴν παραίεσιν ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν
5 ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τε πείσας καὶ ὁ ἐπισπόμενος
ὁμοίως ἐβλάπτοντο, σωφρονέστερον ἂν ἐκρίνεται· νῦν δὲ
πρὸς ὀργὴν ἦντινα τύχητε ἔστω ὅτε σφαλέντες τὴν τοῦ
πείσαντος μίαν γνώμην ζημιούτε καὶ οὐ τὰς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν, 15
εἰ πολλαὶ οὔσαι ξυνεξήμαρτον.
- 44 Ἐγὼ δὲ παρήλθον οὔτε ἀντερῶν περὶ Μυτιληναίων οὔτε
κατηγορήσων. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀδικίας ἡμῶν ὁ
ἄγων, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐβουλίας.
2 ἦν τε γὰρ ἀποφῆναι πάννυ ἀδικούντας αὐτοὺς, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο 20
καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσω, εἰ μὴ ξυμφέρων, ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς
τι ξυγγνώμης τεῖεν†, εἰ τῇ πόλει μὴ ἀγαθὸν φαίνοιο.
3 νομίζω δὲ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον βουλευέσθαι ἢ
τοῦ παρόντος. καὶ τοῦτο ὁ μάλιστα Κλέων ἰσχυρίζεται, ἐς
τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμφέρων ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἦσσαν ἀφίστασθαι 25
θάνατον ζημίαν προθεῖσι, καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ μέλλον
4 καλῶς ἔχοντος ἀντισχυριζόμενος τᾶναντία γιγνώσκω. καὶ
οὐκ ἀξιώ ὑμᾶς τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τοῦ ἐκείνου λόγου τὸ χρήσιμον
τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀπώσασθαι. δικαιοτέρος γὰρ ὢν αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος
πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐς Μυτιληναίους τάχ' ἂν 30
ἐπισπάσαιτο· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικάζομεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε τῶν

· 3 βουλόμενον C : βουλευόμενον cett. [G] 9 ἀξιοῦντι C E G
14 ἦντιν' ἂν Stahl 21 ἔχοντας Lindau : ἔχοντες codd. 22 εἰεν]
ἐάν Lindau : fort. ἐάν οἰκεῖν scribendum 24 φ C G

δικαίων δειν, ἀλλὰ βουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως χρησίμως
ἔξουσιν.

‘Ἐν οὖν ταῖς πόλεσι πολλῶν θανάτου ζημίαι πρόκεινται, 45
καὶ οὐκ ἴσων τῷδε, ἀλλ’ ἐλασσόνων ἁμαρτημάτων· ὅμως
5 δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρόμενοι κινδυνεύουσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς πω
καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ περιέσεσθαι τῷ ἐπιβουλευματι ἦλθεν
ἐς τὸ δεῶν. πόλις τε ἀφισταμένη τίς πω ἦσσω τῇ δοκῇσιν 2
ἔχουσα τὴν παρασκευὴν ἢ οἰκείαν ἢ ἄλλων ξυμμαχίᾳ τούτῳ
ἐπεχείρησεν; πεφύκασί τε ἅπαντες καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ 3
10 ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὅστις ἀπείρξει τούτου, ἐπεὶ
διεξεληλύθασί γε διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι προστι-
θέντες, εἴ πως ἦσσαν ἀδικοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν κακούργων. καὶ
εἰκὸς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων μαλακώτερας
κεῖσθαι αὐτάς, παραβαινομένων δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐς τὸν θάνατον
15 αἱ πολλαὶ ἀνήκουσιν· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως παραβαίνεται. ἡ τοῖνυν 4
δεωότερόν τι τούτου δέος εὐρετέον ἐστὶν ἢ τὸδε γε οὐδὲν
ἐπίσχει, ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν πενία ἀνάγκη τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα,
ἡ δ’ ἐξουσία ὕβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἱ δ’
ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥς ἐκάστη τις κατ-
20 ἔχεται ὑπ’ ἀνηκέστου τινὸς κρείσσονος ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς
κινδύνους. ἡ τε ἐλπίς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, ὁ μὲν ἡγού- 5
μενος, ἡ δ’ ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφρου-
τίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθείσα, πλείστα
βλάπτουσιν, καὶ ὄντα ἀφανῇ κρείσσω ἐστὶ τῶν ὀρωμένων
25 δεῶν. καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐλασσον ξυμβάλλεται 6
ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν· ἀδοκῆτως γὰρ ἔστω ὅτε παρισταμένη καὶ ἐκ
τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κινδυνεύειν τιμὰ προάγει, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν
τὰς πόλεις, ὅσῃ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τε, ἐλευθερίας ἢ ἄλλων
ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἕκαστος ἀλογίστως ἐπὶ πλέον τι
30 αὐτὸν ἐδόξασεν. ἀπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ πολλῆς εὐθελίας, 7

3 ζημία πρόκειται ABEFM γρ. G 8 τοῦτο ABEFM γρ. G
11 προτιθέντες Krüger 16 τόδε C: τό cett. [G] 19 ὀργὴν
Stahl ἐκάστη Duker 22 ἐπιβουλὴν M Thom. Mag.: ἐπι-
βολὴν cett. Schol. 28 τε C: om. cett. 30 αὐτὸν vel αὐτὸν
vulgo: αὐτῶν codd.

- ὅστις οἶται τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ὀρμωμένης προθύμως τι
 πρᾶξαι ἀποτροπὴν τινα ἔχειν ἢ νόμων ἰσχύι ἢ ἄλλῃ τῷ δεινῷ.
- 46 ‘Οὐκοὖν χρή οὔτε τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ ὥς ἔχεγγυφ
 πιστεῦσάστας χεῖρον βουλευσάσθαι οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον κατα-
 στήσαι τοῖς ἀποστάσιν ὥς οὐκ ἔσται μεταγνώναι καὶ ὅτι ἐν 5
 2 βραχυτάτῃ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καταλῦσαι. σκέψασθε γὰρ ὅτι
 νῦν μὲν, ἣν τις καὶ ἀποστάσα πόλις γνῶ μὴ περιεσομένη,
 ἔλθοι ἂν ἐς ξύμβασιν δυνατὴ οὔσα ἔτι τὴν δαπάνην ἀπο-
 δοῦναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖν· ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα οἴεσθε ἦντινα
 οὐκ ἄμεινον μὲν ἢ νῦν παρασκευάσεσθαι, πολιορκίᾳ δὲ παρα- 10
 τευεῖσθαι ἐς τοῦσχατον, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῇ καὶ ταχὺ
 3 ξυμβῆναι; ἡμῖν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβη δαπανῶν καθημένοις διὰ
 τὸ ἀξύμβαστον καί, ἣν ἔλωμεν, πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν
 καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι; ἰσχύομεν
 4 δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷδε. ὥστε οὐ δικαστὰς ὄντας δεῖ 15
 ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων ἀκριβεῖς βλάπτεσθαι ἢ
 ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον μετρίως κολάζοντες ταῖς
 πόλεσιν ἐξομεν ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυνοῦσαις χρήσθαι, καὶ
 τὴν φυλακὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τῆς δεωότητος ἀξιοῦν
 5 ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐπιμελείας. οὐ νῦν 20
 τοῦναντίον ὀρώντες, ἣν τινα ἐλεύθερον καὶ βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον
 εἰκότως πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα χειρωσώμεθα, χαλεπῶς
 6 οἰόμεθα χρῆναι τιμωρεῖσθαι. χρή δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐκ
 ἀφισταμένους σφόδρα κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀποστήναι σφόδρα
 φυλάσσειν καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν ὅπως μὴδ’ ἐς ἐπίνοιαν 25
 τούτου ἴωσι, κρατήσαντάς τε ὅτι ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον τὴν αἰτίαν
 ἐπιφέρειν.
- 47 ‘Ἔμεῖς δὲ σκέψασθε ὅσον ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἁμαρτάνοιτε
 2 Κλέωνι πειθόμενοι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν ὁ δῆμος ἐν πάσαις
 ταῖς πόλεσιν εὖνους ἐστί, καὶ ἢ οὐ ξυναφίσταται τοῖς 30
 ὀλίγοις ἢ, ἐὰν βιασθῇ, ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἀποστήσασιν πολέμιος

10 παρασκευάσεσθαι recc.: παρασκευάσασθαι codd. δὲ Reiske:
 τε codd. 11 εἰ cf G: ἢ cett. 21 τᾶναντία ABF

εὐθύς, καὶ τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος ξύμμαχον
 ἔχοντες ἐς πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε. εἰ δὲ διαφθερεῖτε τὸν 3
 δῆμον τὸν Μυτιληναίων, ὃς οὕτε μετέσχε τῆς ἀποστάσεως,
 ἐπειδὴ τε ὅπλων ἐκράτησεν, ἐκὼν παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, πρῶ-
 5 του μὲν ἀδικήσετε τοὺς εὐεργέτας κτείνοντες, ἔπειτα κατα-
 στήσετε τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὃ βούλονται μάλιστα·
 ἀφιστάντες γὰρ τὰς πόλεις τὸν δῆμον εὐθύς ξύμμαχον ἔξουσιν,
 προδειξάντων ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ζημίαν τοῖς τε ἀδικοῦσιν
 ὁμοίως κείσθαι καὶ τοῖς μὴ. δεῖ δέ, καὶ εἰ ἡδίκησαν, μὴ 4
 10 προσποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ὁ μόνον ἡμῖν ἔτι ξύμμαχόν ἐστι μὴ
 πολέμιον γένηται. καὶ τοῦτο πολλῷ ξυμφορώτερον ἡγοῦμαι 5
 ἐς τὴν κάθεξιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι ἢ
 δικαίως οὖς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ
 δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον τῆς τιμωρίας οὐχ εὕρεσκειται ἐν αὐτῷ
 15 δυνατὸν ὃν ἅμα γίνεσθαι.

‘Ὑμεῖς δὲ γνόντες ἀμείνω τάδε εἶναι καὶ μήτε οἴκτω 48
 πλέον νείμαντες μήτ’ ἐπιεικέα, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἔω προσάγεσθαι,
 ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινουμένων πείθεσθέ μοι Μυτιληναίων
 οὖς μὲν Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὥς ἀδικοῦντας κρῖναι καθ’
 20 ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἑᾶν οἰκεῖν. τάδε γὰρ ἔς τε τὸ 2
 μέλλον ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤδη φοβερά· ὅστις γὰρ εὖ
 βουλευέται πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους κρείσσω ἐστὶν ἢ μετ’
 ἔργων ἰσχύος ἀνοία ἐπιών.’

Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Διοδότος εἶπεν. ῥηθειςὼν δὲ τῶν γνωμῶν 49
 25 τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον
 μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ
 ἀγχώμαλοι, ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου. καὶ τριήρη εὐθύς 2
 ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης τῆς
 προτέρας εὗρωσι διεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν· προεῖχε δὲ ἡμέρα
 30 καὶ νυκτὶ μάλιστα. παρασκευασάντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων 3

3 τὸν] τῶν ABEFM
 πείθεσθαι cett.
 24 prius δὲ] μὲν F'GM Schol.
 25 ἀλλή-
 λας f'G'M: ἀλλήλους cett.
 26 ὁμοίως Bredow
 29 προτέρας]
 priorem Valla: δευτέρας codd.

14 ταῦτῳ Krüger
 18 πείθεσθε C':
 25 ἀλλή-
 λας f'G'M: ἀλλήλους cett.
 26 ὁμοίως Bredow
 29 προτέρας]

18 πείθεσθε C':
 25 ἀλλή-
 λας f'G'M: ἀλλήλους cett.
 26 ὁμοίως Bredow
 29 προτέρας]

- πρέσβειον τῇ νηὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποσχομέ-
 νων, εἰ φθάσειαν, ἐγένετο σπουδὴ τοῦ πλοῦ τοιαύτη ὥστε
 ἡσθιόν τε ἅμα ἐλαύνοντες οἶνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιτα πεφυρα-
 μένα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπνον ἡροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἤλαυνον.
 4 κατὰ τύχην δὲ πνεύματος οὐδενὸς ἐναντιωθέντος καὶ τῆς μὲν 5
 προτέρας νεὼς οὐ σπουδῇ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον,
 ταύτης δὲ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπειγομένης, ἥ μὲν ἔφθασε τοσοῦ-
 του ὅσον Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ μέλλειν
 δράσειν τὰ δεδογμένα, ἥ δ' ὑστέρα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται καὶ
 διεκώλυσε μὴ διαφθεῖραι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἡ Μυτιλήνη 10
 50 ἦλθε κωδύνου. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄνδρας οὗς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέ-
 πεμψεν ὥς αἰτιωτάτους ὄντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλέωνος
 γνώμῃ διέφθειραν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους
 χιλίων), καὶ Μυτιληναίων τείχῃ καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς παρέλα-
 2 βον. ὕστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους 15
 δὲ ποιήσασατες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίων
 τριακοσίους μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἐξείλουν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
 σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν· οἷς
 ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
 3 δύο μῶας φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. παρέλαβον δὲ 20
 καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιλη-
 ναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων. τὰ μὲν
 κατὰ Λέσβον οὕτως ἐγένετο.
 51 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τὴν Λέσβον ἄλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι
 Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μι- 25
 νύαν τὴν νῆσον, ἥ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων· ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῇ
 2 πύργον ἐνοικοδομήσαντες οἱ Μεγαρήϊς φρουρίῳ. ἐβούλετο
 δὲ Νικίας τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτόθεν δι' ἐλάσσονος τοῖς Ἀθη-
 ναίοις καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος εἶναι,
 τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους αὐτόθεν 30
 λαυθῶντες τριήρων τε, οἷον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον, καὶ
 ληστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν ἅμα μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν.

ἐλὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον δύο πύργῳ προύχοντε 3
 μηχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς
 νήσου ἐλευθερώσας ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἥ κατὰ
 γέφυραν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν τῇ νήσῳ οὐ πολὺ διε-
 5 χούσῃ τῆς ἡπείρου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐξεργάσαντο ἐν ἡμέραις 4
 ὀλίγαις, ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ
 φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ 52
 Πλαταιῆς οὐκέτι ἔχοντες σῖτον οὐδὲ δυνάμενοι πολιορκεῖσθαι
 10 ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τοιῶδε τρόπῳ. προσέβαλλον 2
 αὐτῶν τῷ τείχει, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀμύνεσθαι. γνούς δὲ
 ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν βίβη μὲν οὐκ
 ἐβούλετο ἐλεῶν (εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος,
 ὅπως, εἰ σπονδαὶ γίγνουτό ποτε πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ξυγχα-
 15 ροίειν ὅσα πολέμῳ χωρὶα ἔχουσιν ἀποδίδοσθαι, μὴ
 ἀνάδοτος εἴη ἡ Πλάταια ὥς αὐτῶν ἐκόντων προσχωρησάντων),
 προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοῖς κήρυκα λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται παρα-
 δοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἐκόντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ δικασταῖς
 ἐκείνοις χρῆσασθαι, τοὺς τε ἀδίκους κολάζειν, παρὰ δίκην
 20 δὲ οὐδένα. τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ (ἦσαν γὰρ 3
 ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ) παρέδωκαν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς
 Πλαταιᾶς ἔτρεφον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐν ὅσῳ
 οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος δικασταὶ πέντε ἄνδρες ἀφίκοντο.
 ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατηγορία μὲν οὐδεμία προυτέθη, ἡρώτων 4
 25 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμο-
 νίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ καθεστῶτι ἀγαθὸν
 [τι] εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον· αἰτησάμενοι μακρότερα 5
 εἰπεῖν καὶ προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν Ἀστυμάχον τε τὸν
 Ἀσωπολάδου καὶ Λάκωνα τὸν Αἰεμνήστου πρόξενον ὄντα
 30 Λακεδαιμονίων· καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιαῦδε.

1 ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας secl. Classen 5 ἐξεργάσαντο G M 10 προσ-
 έβαλον ABEFM 19 τε] γε recc. κολάζειν] sup-
 plicium . . . συμπτύκτους Valla: κολάζειν Krüger 27 τι secl.
 Böhme

- 53 'Τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως, ὧς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν ἐποιησάμεθα, οὐ τοιῶνδε δίκην οἰόμενοι ὑφέξειν, νομιμωτέραν δέ τινα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, γενέσθαι [ἢ ὑμῖν],
 2 ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἴσον μάλιστ' ἂν φέρεσθαι. νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα 5 μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν· τὸν τε γὰρ ἀγῶνα περὶ τῶν δεωτοτάτων εἶναι εἰκότως ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε, τεκμαιρόμενοι προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης ἢ χρητὴ ἀντειπεῖν (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ λόγον ἡγησάμεθα) :
 τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὄν, ὃ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ἀποκρίνωσθαι 10
 3 ἐναντία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ ἔλεγχον ἔχει. πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄποροι καθεστῶτες ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ εἶναι εἰπόντας τι κωδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος τοῖς ὧδ' ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν ἂν παράσχοι ὥς, εἰ ἐλέχθη, σωτή-
 4 ριος ἂν ἦν. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχει ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ 15 ἢ πειθῶ. ἀγνώτες μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἀλλήλων ἐπεσευεγκάμενοι μαρτύρια ὧν ἀπειροὶ ἦτε ὠφελούμεθ' ἂν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα λελέγεται, καὶ δέδιμεν οὐχὶ μὴ προκαταγνόντες ἡμῶν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἥσσους εἶναι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔγκλημα αὐτὸ ποιῆτε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλοις χάριω φέροντες ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν 20
 54 καθιστώμεθα. παρεχόμενοι δὲ ὅμως ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια πρὸς τε τὰ Θηβαίων διάφορα καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, τῶν εὖ δεδραμένων ὑπόμνησιν ποιησόμεθα καὶ πείθειν πειρασόμεθα.
 2 'Φαμέν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τὸ βραχὺ, εἴ τι Λακεδαι- 25 μονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἀγαθὸν πεποιήκαμεν, εἰ μὲν ὥς πολεμίους ἐρωτᾶτε, οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ εὖ παθόντας, φίλους δὲ νομίζοντας αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν
 3 μᾶλλον τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήρῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ἀγαθοὶ γεγενήμεθα, τὴν μὲν οὐ 30 λύσαντες νῦν πρότεροι, τῷ δὲ ξυνεπιθέμενοι τότε ἐς ἐλευ-

4 ἂν Krüger: ἐν codd. ἢ ὑμῖν non legit Schol. 18 λέγεται CG?
 23 δεδραμένων recc. : δεδρασμένων codd. 29 ἐπιστρατεύοντας M.

θερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μόνοι Βοιωτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἡπειρώται τε 4
 ὄντες ἐναυμαχήσαμεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, μάχῃ τε τῇ ἐν τῇ
 ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ γενομένη παρεγνόμεθα ὑμῖν τε καὶ Πανσαλίᾳ·
 εἰ τέ τι ἄλλο κατ' ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐπικινδυνον
 5 τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάντων παρὰ δύναμιν μετέσχομεν. καὶ ὑμῖν, 5
 ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰδίᾳ, ὅτεπερ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη
 τὴν Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην Εἰλώτων
 ἀποστάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξεπέψαμεν ἐς
 ἐπικουρίαν· ὧν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀμνημονεῖν.
 10 'Καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ μέγιστα τοιοῦτοι ἡξιώσαμεν εἶναι, 55
 πολέμιοι δὲ ἐγινόμεθα ὕστερον. ὑμεῖς δὲ αἴτιοι· δεομένων
 γὰρ ξυμμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε
 καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέσθαι ὥς ἐγγὺς ὄντας,
 ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων. ἐν μέντοι τῷ πολέμῳ οὐδὲν 2
 15 ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐπάθετε οὔτε ἐμελλήσατε. εἰ 3
 δ' ἀποστήναι Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῶν κελευσάντων,
 οὐκ ἡδικοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἐβοήθουν ἡμῖν ἐναντία
 Θηβαίοις ὅτε ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνεῖτε, καὶ προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι
 ἦν καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδ' εὖ παθῶν τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος
 20 προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν, ἵνα δὲ
 ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα εἰκὸς ἦν προθύμως. ἃ δὲ ἑκάτεροι 4
 ἐξηγείσθε τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οὐχ οἱ ἐπόμενοι αἴτιοι εἰ τι μὴ
 καλῶς ἐδράτο, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.
 'Θηβαῖοι δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἡδίκησαν, τὸ δὲ 56
 25 τελευταῖον αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, δι' ὅπερ καὶ τάδε πάσχομεν. πόλιν 2
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλαμβάνοντας ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ
 προσέτι ἱερομηνίᾳ ὀρθῶς τε ἐτιμωρησάμεθα κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι
 νόμον καθεστῶτα, τὸν ἐπιόντα πολέμιον ὅσιον εἶναι ἀμύ-
 νεσθαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δι' αὐτοὺς βλαπτοίμεθα. εἰ 3
 30 γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμῷ τὸ
 δίκαιον λήψεσθε, τοῦ μὲν ὀρθοῦ φανεῖσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταί·

12 γὰρ] δὲ A B F
 Porpo : ἄπερ codd.

23 ἐδράτο An. Bekk. : ἐδράτε codd.
 27 τε om. A B E F M

25 ὅπερ
 30 τε om. C [G]
 d

- 4 ὄντες, τὸ δὲ ξυμφέρουν μᾶλλον θεραπεύοντες. καίτοι εἰ νῦν
 ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμοι δοκοῦσι εἶναι, πολὺ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον τότε ὅτε ἐν μείζονι κωδύνῃ ἦτε. νῦν μὲν
 γὰρ ἐτέροις ὑμεῖς ἐπέρχεσθε δεινοί, ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ,
 ὅτε πᾶσι δουλείαν ἐπέφερεν ὁ βάρβαρος, οἶδε μετ' αὐτοῦ 5
 ἦσαν. καὶ δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν ἁμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηται
 τι, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν· καὶ μείζω τε πρὸς ἐλάσσω
 εὐρήσετε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιμὰ
 ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐπηρεοῦντό τε μᾶλλον
 οἱ μὴ τὰ ξυμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσ- 10
 σουτες, ἐθέλοντες δὲ τολμᾶν μετὰ κωδύνων τὰ βέλτιστα.
 6 ὧν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ τιμηθέντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς δέδιμεν μὴ διαφθαρώμεν, Ἀθηναίους ἐλόμενοι δικαίως
 7 μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς κερδαλέως. καίτοι χρὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν
 αὐτῶν ὁμοίως φαίνεσθαι γινώσκοντας, καὶ τὸ ξυμφέρουν μὴ 15
 ἄλλο τι νομίσει ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὅταν αἰεὶ
 βέβαιοι τὴν χάρι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχωσι καὶ τὸ παραντίκα που
 ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καθιστῇται.
- 57 Ἐπροσκέψασθέ τε ὅτι νῦν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδραγαθίας νομίζεσθε· εἰ δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν 20
 γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα (οὐ γὰρ ἀφανὴ κρωεῖτε τὴν δίκην
 τήνδε, ἐπαυούμενοι δὲ περὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν μεμπτῶν), ὁράτε ὅπως
 μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρι αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους
 ὄντας ἀπρεπές τι ἐπιγνώναι, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς
 σκῦλα ἀπὸ ἡμῶν τῶν εὐεργετῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνατεθῆναι. 25
- 2 δεῶν δὲ δόξει εἶναι Πλάταιαν Λακεδαιμονίους πορθήσαι,
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀναγράφαι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν
 Δελφοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ
- 3 Ἑλληνικοῦ πανοικεσίᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους ἐξαλεῖψαι. ἐς τοῦτο
 γὰρ δὴ ξυμφορᾶς προκεχωρήκαμεν, οἷτινες Μήδων τε κρα- 30
 τησάντων ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πρῶν φιλατάτοις

7 τι c G: om. cett. 10 αὐτοῖς M: αὐτοῖς cett. 17 ἔχουσι
 Heilmann 19 προσκέψασθε Meineke 23 ἀποδέξονται ex corr. c
 29 πανοικεσίᾳ A B C F M 31 ἀπωλλύμεθα f: ἀπολλύμεθα codd.

Θηβαίων ἡσώμεθα καὶ δύο ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ὑπέστημεν, τότε μὲν, τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν, λιμῷ διαφθάρῃναι, νῦν δὲ θανάτου δίκην κρῖνεσθαι. καὶ περιεώσμεθα ἐκ 4 πάντων Πλαταιῆς οἱ παρὰ δύναμιν πρόθυμοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας 5 ἐρῆμοι καὶ ἀτιμώρητοι· καὶ οὕτε τῶν τότε ζυμμάχων ὠφελεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε.

Ἄλλοι ἀξιοῦμέν γε καὶ θεῶν ἕνεκα τῶν ζυμμαχικῶν ποτὲ 58 γενομένων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καμφθῆναι 10 ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταγνῶναι εἴ τι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπέσθητε, τὴν τε δωρεὰν ἀνταπαιτῆσαι αὐτοὺς μὴ κτείνεω οὐδὲ μὴ ὑμῶν πρέπει, σφρόνῳα τε ἀντὶ αἰσχροῦς κομίσασθαι χάριν, καὶ μὴ ἡδονὴν δόντας ἄλλοις κακίαν αὐτοὺς ἀντιλαβεῖν· βραχὺ γὰρ τὸ τὰ 2 ἡμέτερα σώματα διαφθεῖραι, ἐπίπονον δὲ τὴν δύσκειαν 15 αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι. οὐκ ἐχθροὺς γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰκότως τιμωρήσεσθε, ἀλλ' εὖνοους, κατ' ἀνάγκην πολεμήσαντας. ὥστε καὶ 3 τῶν σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες ὅσα ἂν δικάζοιτε καὶ προνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐκόντας τε ἐλάβετε καὶ χεῖρας προῖσχομένους (ὁ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ κτείνεω τούτους), ἔτι δὲ καὶ 20 εὐεργέτας γεγεννημένους διὰ παντός. ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ ἐς 4 πατέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας, οὐδὲ ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μήδων καὶ ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὥραϊα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες, εὖνοι 25 μὲν ἐκ φιλίας χώρας, ξύμμαχοι δὲ ὁμαίχοις ποτὲ γενομένοις. ὦν ὑμεῖς τοῦναντίον ἂν δράσαιτε μὴ ὀρθῶς γνόντες. σκέψασθέ τε· Πανσωνίας μὲν γὰρ ἔθαπτεν αὐτοὺς νομίζων 5 ἐν γῇ τε φιλὶά τιθέναι καὶ παρ' ἀνδράσι τοιούτοις· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ κτενεῖτε ἡμᾶς καὶ χώραν τὴν Πλαταιίδα Θηβαίδα ποιήσετε, 30 τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐν πολεμῇα τε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις πατέρας τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀτίμους γερῶν ὦν νῦν ἰσχυροὺς καταλείψετε; πρὸς δὲ καὶ γῆν ἐν ᾗ ἡλευθερώθησαν οἱ

Ἕλληνες δουλώσετε, ἱερά τε θεῶν οἷς εὐξάμενοι Μῆδων ἐκράτησαν ἐρημοῦτε καὶ θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν ἐσταμένων καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε.

- 59 'Οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τάδε, οὔτε ἐς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα καὶ ἐς τοὺς προγόνους 5 ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτε ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀλλοτρίας ἔνεκα ἐχθρας μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀδικηθέντας διαφθεῖραι, φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπι- κλασθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ οἰκτῷ σώφρονι λαβόντας, μὴ ὦν πεισόμεθα μόνον δεωότητα κατανοοῦντας, ἀλλ' οἷοί τε ἂν ὄντες πάθοιμεν καὶ ὥς ἀστάθμητον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ᾤτωι 10 2 ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ ξυμπέσοι. ἡμεῖς τε, ὥς πρόπον ἡμῖν καὶ ὥς ἡ χρεία προάγει, αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμο- βωμίους καὶ κοινούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβόωμενοι, πείσαι τάδε· προφερόμενοι ὄρκους οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὤμωσαν μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν πατρῶων τάφων καὶ 15 ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς κεκηκότες μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις μηδὲ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις φίλτατοι ὄντες παραδοθῆναι. ἡμέρας τε ἀναμνησκόμεν ἐκείνης ἥ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντες νῦν ἐν τῇδε τὰ δεωότατα κωδυνεύομεν παθεῖν. 3 ὅπερ δὲ ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον τοῖς ὧδε ἔχουσι, 20 λόγου τελευτᾶν, διότι καὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, πανόμενοι λέγομεν ἤδη ὅτι οὐ Θηβαίοις παρέδομεν τὴν πόλιν (εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἂν πρό γε τούτου τῷ αἰσχίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ λιμῷ τελευτήσῃ), ὑμῶν δὲ πιστεύσαντες προσήλθομεν (καὶ δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ πείθομεν, ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας τὸν 25 4 ζυντυχόντα κίνδυνον ἔασαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλέσθαι), ἐπισκή- πτομέν τε ἅμα μὴ Πλαταιῆς ὄντες οἱ προθυμότατοι περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γενόμενοι Θηβαίοις τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως ἱκέται ὄντες,

9 κατανοοῦντας c : κατανοοῦντες codd. [G] 14 προφερόμενοι C :
προσφερόμενοι cett. : post προφερόμενοι add. θ' Stahl 16 κεκηκότες
C E M Pollux : κεκηκώτας cett. et C¹ 18 μετ' αὐτῶν G¹ m : μεθ' αὐτῶν
cett. 25 καταστήσαντας f G¹ m : καταστήσαντες cett. 27 οἱ om.
A B E F M

ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, παραδοθῆναι, γενέσθαι δὲ σωτῆρας ἡμῶν
καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς διολέσαι.’

Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Πλαταιῆς εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι δέισαν- 60
τες πρὸς τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τι ἐνδῶσι,
5 παρελθόντες ἔφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ βούλεσθαι εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ
ἐκείνοις παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν μακρότερος λόγος ἐδόθη
τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα ἀποκρίσεως. ὥς δ’ ἐκέλευσαν, ἔλεγον
τοιάδε.

‘Τοὺς μὲν λόγους οὐκ ἂν ᾗτησάμεθα εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ 61
10 βραχέως τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς τραπό-
μενοι κατηγορίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξω τῶν προ-
κειμένων καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ᾗτιαμένων πολλὴν τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ
ἔπαυον ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο. νῦν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀντειπεῖν
δεῖ, τῶν δὲ ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα μήτε ἡ ἡμετέρα αὐτοὺς
15 κακία ὠφελῇ μήτε ἡ τούτων δόξα, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς περὶ ἀμφο-
τέρων ἀκούσαντες κρῖναιτε.

‘Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον ὅτι ἡμῶν 2
κτισάντων Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας καὶ ἄλλα
χωρία μετ’ αὐτῆς, ἃ ζυμμεῖκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξέλασαντες
20 ἔσχομεν, οὐκ ᾗξίουν οὗτοι, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγε-
μονεύεσθαι ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαί-
νοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν
πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐβλαπτον, ἀνθ’
ῶν καὶ ἀντέπασχον.

25 ‘Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φασὶ 62
μόνοι Βοιωτῶν οὐ μηδίσαι, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα αὐτοὶ τε
ἀγάλλονται καὶ ἡμᾶς λουδοροῦσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδίσαι μὲν 2
αὐτοὺς οὐ φάμεν διότι οὐδ’ Ἀθηναίους, τῇ μέντοι αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ
ὕστερον ἰόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας μόνους αὐ
30 Βοιωτῶν ἀπτικίσαι. καίτοι σκέψασθε ἐν ὧν εἶδει ἕκαστεροι 3
ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἐπραξαν. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν

- οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημο-
 κρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ
 ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀν-
 4 δρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες
 ἔτι μᾶλλον σχήσειν εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μήδου κρατήσῃ, κατέχοντες 5
 ἰσχύϊ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτόν· καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις
 οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὔσα ἑαυτῆς τοῦτ' ἐπραξεν, οὐδ' ἄξιον αὐτῇ
 5 ὀνειδίσαι ὧν μὴ μετὰ νόμων ἤμαρτεν. ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ὁ τε
 Μήδος ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔλαβε, σκέψασθαι χρή,
 Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον ἐπιόντων τήν τε ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν 10
 ἡμετέραν χώραν πειωμένων ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ
 στάσιν ἤδη ἐχόντων αὐτῆς τὰ πολλά, εἰ μαχόμενοι ἐν Κορω-
 νείᾳ καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἡλευθερώσαμεν τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους νῦν προθύμως ξυνελευθεροῦμεν, ἵππους τε παρ-
 15 ἐχοντες καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσῃν οὐκ ἄλλοι τῶν ξυμμάχων.
- 63 ' Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν μηδισμόν τοσαῦτα ἀπολογούμεθα· ὥς
 δὲ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον τε ἡδίκηκατε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί
 2 ὅστε πάσης ζημίας, πειρασόμεθα ἀποφαίνεω. ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ
 τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὥς φατέ, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται.
 οὐκοῦν χρὴν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ 20
 μὴ ξυνεπιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἄλλοις, ὑπάρχον γε ὑμῶν, εἴ τι
 καὶ ἄκουτες προσήγεσθε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τῆς τῶν Λακεδαι-
 μονίων τῶνδε ἤδη ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίας γεγενημένης, ἣν
 αὐτοὶ μάλιστα προβάλλεσθε· ἱκανή γε ἦν ἡμᾶς τε ὑμῶν
 ἀποτρέπειν, καί, τὸ μέγιστον, ἀδεῶς παρέχεω βουλευέσθαι. 25
 ἀλλ' ἐκόντες καὶ οὐ βιαζόμενοι ἔτι εἴλεσθε μᾶλλον τὰ Ἀθη-
 3 ναίων. καὶ λέγετε ὥς αἰσχρὸν ἦν προδοῦναι τοὺς εὐεργέτας·
 πολὺν δέ γε αἰσχίον καὶ ἀδικώτερον τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας
 καταπροδοῦναι, οἷς ξυνωμόσατε, ἢ Ἀθηναίους μόνους, τοὺς
 μὲν καταδουλομένους τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντας. 30
 4 καὶ οὐκ ἴσῃν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνῃς

20 ἐπάγεσθαι vulgo.: ἐπάγεσθαι codd. [G]
 ὑπάρχοντες E: ὑπάρχον τε cett. [G]

21 ὑπάρχον γε M:

ἀπῆλλαγμένην· ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀδικούμενοι αὐτούς, ὥς φατέ,
ἐπηγάγεσθε, τοῖς δὲ ἀδικούσιν ἄλλους ξυνεργοὶ κατέστητε.
καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι αἰσχροὺν μᾶλλον
ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὀφειληθείσας, ἐς ἀδικίαν δὲ
5 ἀποδιδόμενας. δῆλόν τε ἐποιήσατε οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων 64
ἔνεκα μόνοι οὐ μὴδίσαντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑμεῖς
δὲ τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τὰναντία. καὶ 2
νῦν ἀξιούτε, ἀφ' ὧν δι' ἑτέρους ἐγένεσθε ἀγαθοί, ἀπὸ τούτων
ὠφελείσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκός· ὥσπερ δὲ Ἀθηναίους εἴλεσθε,
10 τούτοις ξυναγωνίζεσθε, καὶ μὴ προφέρετε τὴν τότε γενομένην
ξυνωμοσίαν ὥς χρὴ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῦν σφύζεσθαι. ἀπελίπετε 3
γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ παραβάντες ξυγκατεδουλοῦσθε μᾶλλον Αἰγι-
νήτας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ξυνομοσάντων ἢ διεκωλύετε,
καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε ἄκουτες ἔχοντές τε τοὺς νόμους οὔσπερ μέχρι
15 τοῦ δεῦρο καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑμᾶς βιασαμένου ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς. τὴν
τελευταίαν τε πρὶν περιτειχίζεσθαι πρόκλησιν ἐς ἡσυχίαν
ἡμῶν, ὥστε μὴδετέροις ἀμύνειν, οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε. τῶνες ἂν 4
οὖν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μισοῦντο, οἷτινες
ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων κακῷ ἀνδραγαθίαν προύθεσθε; καὶ ἃ μὲν
20 ποτε χρηστοὶ ἐγένεσθε, ὥς φατέ, οὐ προσήκοντα νῦν ἐπεδεί-
ξατε, ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις αἰεὶ ἐβούλετο, ἐξηλέγχθη ἐς τὸ ἀληθές·
μετὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἄδικον ὁδὸν ἰόντων ἐχωρήσατε.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μὴδισμόν καὶ 5
τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐκούσιον ἀπτικισμόν τοιαῦτα ἀποφαίνομεν· ἃ 65
25 δὲ τελευταῖά φατε ἀδικηθῆναι (παρὰ νόμῳ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἡμᾶς
ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνίᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν), οὐ νομί-
ζομεν οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἁμαρτεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 2
ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ πρὸς τε τὴν πόλιν ἐλθόντες ἐμαχόμεθα καὶ τὴν
γῆν ἐδηιοῦμεν ὥς πολέμιοι, ἀδικούμεν· εἰ δὲ ἄνδρες ὑμῶν οἱ
30 πρῶτοι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένει, βουλόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἕξ ξυμ-
μαχίας ὑμᾶς παύσαι, ἐς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν

6 ἡμεῖς A B E F M
20 ἀπεδείξατε Classen

17 ὑμῶν A E M'
26 ἱερομηνίᾳ margo Stephani: ἱερομηνίαις codd.

18 οὖν om. A B F M

- πάτρια καταστήσαι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο ἐκόντες, τί ἀδικούμεν; οἱ
 3 γὰρ ἄγοντες παρανομοῦσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἐπομένων. ἀλλ' οὐτ'
 ἐκεῖνοι, ὥς ἡμεῖς κρῖνομεν, οὔτε ἡμεῖς· πολῖται δὲ ὄντες
 ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς καὶ πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι, τὸ ἐαυτῶν τεῖχος
 ἀνοίξαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν φιλίως, οὐ πολεμῶς 5
 κομίσαντες ἐβούλοντο τοὺς τε ὑμῶν χεῖρους μηκέτι μᾶλλον
 γενέσθαι τοὺς τε ἀμείνους τὰ ἄξια ἔχειν, σωφρονισταὶ ὄντες
 τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἄλλοτριούντες
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν συγγένειαν οἰκειοῦντες, ἐχθροὺς οὐδενὶ καθι-
 66 στάντες, ἅπασιν δ' ὁμοίως ἐνσπόνδους. τεκμήριον δὲ ὥς οὐ 10
 πολεμῶς ἐπράσσομεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκησαμεν οὐδένα, προεί-
 πομέν τε τὸν βουλόμενον κατὰ τὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν
 2 πάτρια πολιτεύειν ἵνα πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄσμενοι
 χωρήσαντες καὶ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυ-
 χάζεσθε, ὕστερον δὲ κατανοήσαντες ἡμᾶς ὀλίγους ὄντας, εἰ 15
 ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμέν τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πρᾶξαι οὐ μετὰ τοῦ
 πλήθους ὑμῶν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ μὲν ὁμοῖα οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε
 ἡμῖν, μήτε νεωτερίσαι ἔργῳ λόγοις τε πείθειν ὥστε ἐξελεῖν,
 ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν, οὗς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπε-
 κτενάτε, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀλγοῦμεν (κατὰ νόμον γὰρ δὴ τινα 20
 ἔπασχον), οὗς δὲ χεῖρας προῖσχομένους καὶ ζωγρήσαντες
 ὑποσχόμενοι τε ἡμῖν ὕστερον μὴ κτενεῖν παρανόμως διεφθει-
 3 ρατε, πῶς οὐ δεῦν ἐῖργασθε; καὶ ταῦτα τρεῖς ἀδικίας ἐν
 ὀλίγῳ πράξαντες, τὴν τε λυθεῖσαν ὁμολογίαν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τὸν ὕστερον θάνατον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μὴ κτενεῖν 25
 ψευθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἣν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑμῶν μὴ ἀδι-
 κῶμεν, ὅμως φατὲ ἡμᾶς παρανομήσαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦτε μὴ
 ἀντιδοῦναι δίκην. οὐκ, ἦν γε οὗτοι τὰ ὀρθὰ γινώσκωσιν·
 πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα κολασθήσεσθε.
- 67 ' Καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τούτου ἔνεκα ἐπεξήλθομεν 30

5 φίλους, οὐ πολεμῶς Steup 12 τῶν C : om. cett. 17 ἡμῶν
 A B E F M 18 πείθειν Classen : πείσειν codd. 22 μὴ κτενεῖν
 ὕστερον Hude 23 κἀνταῦθα Naber 25 κτενεῖν Herwerden :
 κτείνειν codd. 26 ὑπόθεσιν A B F

καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε δικαίως αὐτῶν
καταγνωσόμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι ὀσιώτερον τετιμωρημένοι. καὶ 2
μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετάς, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο, ἀκούοντες ἐπι-
κλασθῆτε, ὥς χρή τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις ἐπικούρους εἶναι,
5 τοῖς δὲ αἰσχρόν τι δρῶσι διπλάσιος ζημίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ
προσηκόντων ἁμαρτάνουσιν. μηδὲ δλοφυρμῶ καὶ οἴκτῳ ὠφε-
λεῖσθων, πατέρων τε τάφους τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ
τὴν σφετέραν ἐρημίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀνταποφαίνομεν πολλῶ 3
δεωότερα παθοῦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρ-
10 μένην, ὧν πατέρες οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄγοντες
ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται λελειμμένοι καὶ
οἰκίαί ἐρήμοι πολλῶ δικαιοτέρων ὑμῶν ἵκετεῖαν ποιοῦνται
τούσδε τιμωρήσασθαι. οἴκτου τε ἀξιώτεροι τυγχάνειν οἱ 4
ἀπρεπές τι πάσχοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ δικαίως, ὥσπερ
15 οἷδε, τὰ ἐναντία ἐπίχαρτοι εἶναι. καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐρημίαν δι' 5
ἑαυτοὺς ἔχουσιν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμείνους ξυμμάχους ἐκόντες ἀπεώ-
σαντο. παρενόμησάν τε οὐ προπαθόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μίσει δὲ
πλέον ἢ δίκη κρίναντες καὶ οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες νῦν τὴν ἴσῃν
τιμωρίαν· ἔννομα γὰρ πείσονται καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ μάχης χεῖρας
20 προῖσχύμενοι, ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως ἐς δίκην
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παραδόντες. ἀμύνετε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 6
καὶ τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ ὑπὸ τῶνδε παραβαθέντι, καὶ
ἡμῶν ἄνομα παθοῦσιν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν ὧν πρόθυμοι
γεγενήμεθα, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶνδε λόγοις περιωσθῶμεν ἐν ὑμῶν,
25 ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας
προθήγοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων βραχεία ἢ
ἀπαγγελία ἀρκεῖ, ἁμαρτανομένων δὲ λόγοι ἔπεισι κοσμηθέντες
προκαλύμματα γίνονται. ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν 7
ὑμεῖς, κεφαλαιώσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας διαγνώμας
30 ποιήσησθε, ἥσσόν τις ἐπ' ἀδίκους ἔργοις λόγους καλοὺς
ζήτησει.

11 κατ' οἰκίας Stahl
δῶσοντες Stahl

18 post οὐκ add. ἂν Dobree
29 post ξύμπαντας add. τὰς Hude

ἀνταπο-

- 68 Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι-
 κασταὶ νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπερώτημα σφίσιν ὀρθῶς ἔξεω, εἴ τι
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθασι, διότι τὸν τε
 ἄλλον χρόνον ἡξίουν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παν-
 σανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον 5
 ἂ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, κοινούς εἶναι
 κατ' ἐκείῳ, ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ
 βουλῇσει ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι, αὐθις
 τὸ αὐτὸ ἕνα ἕκαστον παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες, εἴ τι
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 10
 δεδρακότες εἰσὼν, ὅποτε μὴ φαῖεν, ἀπάγοντες ἀπέκτεινον
 2 καὶ ἐξαίρετον ἐποίησαντο οὐδένα. διέφθειραν δὲ Πλαταιῶν
 μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διακοσίῳ, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πέντε καὶ
 εἴκοσι, οἱ ξυνεπολιορκοῦντο· γυναῖκας δὲ ἡνδραπόδισαν.
 3 τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν τινα [Θηβαῖοι] Μεγαρέων ἀν- 15
 δράσι κατὰ στάσις ἐκπεπτωκόσι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερά φρο-
 νοῦντες Πλαταιῶν περιῆσαν ἔδοσαν ἐνοικεῖν· ὕστερον δὲ
 καθελόντες αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων ῥυκοδό-
 μησαν πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταγώγιον διακοσίῳ ποδῶν πανταχῇ,
 κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ὀροφαῖς καὶ 20
 θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ
 ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σιδηρός, κλίνας κατα-
 σκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἡρᾷ, καὶ νεὼν ἐκατόμπεδον λίθων
 ῥυκοδόμησαν αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ γῆν δημοσιώσωσας ἀπεμίσθωσαν
 4 ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη, καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ 25
 ζύμπαν περὶ Πλαταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὕτως ἀποτετραμ-
 μένοι ἐγένοντο Θηβαίων ἕνεκα, νομίζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
 5 αὐτοὺς ἄρτι τότε καθιστάμενον ὠφελίμους εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν
 κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων
 ζύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. 30
- 69 Αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίων

βοηθοὶ ἔλθοῦσαι, ὥς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἔκ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ χεϊμασθεῖσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σποράδες πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθισαν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα τριήρεις
 5 Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Βρασίδαν τὸν Τέλλιδος
 ξύμβουλον Ἀλκίδα ἐπεληλυθότα. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οἱ Λακε- 2
 δαιμόνιοι, ὥς τῆς Λέσβου ἡμαρτήκεσαν, πλέον τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῖσαι στασιάζουσιν, δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ μόναις παρόντων Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναύπακτον, πρὶν
 10 δὲ πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικόν, ὅπως προφθάσωσι, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὃ τε Βρασίδης καὶ ὁ Ἀλκί-
 δας πρὸς ταῦτα.

Οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι ἐστασίαζον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι 70
 ἦλθον αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ναυμαχιῶν ὑπὸ
 15 Κορινθίων ἀφεθέντες, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων τοῖς προξένους διηγνημένοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πεπεισμένοι Κορινθίοις Κέρκυραν προσποιῆσαι. καὶ ἔπρασσον οὗτοι, ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν μετιόντες, ὅπως ἀποστήσωσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀφικομένης Ἀττικῆς τε νεῶς καὶ Κορινθίας πρέσβεις 2
 20 ἀγουσῶν καὶ ἐς λόγους καταστάντων ἐψηφίσαντο Κερκυραῖοι Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ξύμμαχοι εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ φίλοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ (ἦν 3
 γὰρ Πειθίας ἐθελοπρόξενός τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει) ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐς δίκην, λέ-
 25 γοντες Ἀθηναίοις τὴν Κέρκυραν καταδουλοῦν. ὃ δὲ ἀποφυγὼν 4
 ἀνθυπάγει αὐτῶν τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους πέντε ἄνδρας, φάσκων τέμνειν χάρακας ἐκ τοῦ τε Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίονος ζημία δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην χάρακα ἐπέκειτο στατήρ. ὀφλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἱκετῶν καθεζομένων 5
 30 διὰ πλήθος τῆς ζημίας, ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν, ὁ Πειθίας (ἐτόγγχανε γὰρ καὶ βουλῆς ὦν) πείθει ὥστε τῷ νόμῳ χρή-
 σασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε νόμῳ ἐξείργοντο καὶ ἅμα 6

18 ἀποστήσουσιν Cobet

29 ὀφειλόντων A B E (ε add. e) F

- ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Πειθίαν, ἕως ἔτι βουλῆς ἔστί, μέλλειν τὸ πλῆθος ἀναπέσειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους φίλους τε καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομίζειν, ξυνίσταντό τε καὶ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ἐξαπινάως ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσελθόντες τὸν τε Πειθίαν κτεί-
 νουσι καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐς ἐξή- 5
 71 κούτα· οἱ δὲ τινες τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης τῷ Πειθίᾳ ὀλίγοι ἐς
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν τριήρη κατέφυγον ἔτι παρούσαν. δράσαντες
 δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσαντες Κερκυραίους εἶπον ὅτι ταῦτα
 καὶ βέλτιστα εἴη καὶ ἥκιστ' ἂν δουλωθεῖεν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων,
 τό τε λοιπὸν μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μιᾷ νηὶ ἡσυχά- 10
 ζοντας, τὸ δὲ πλεόν πολέμιον ἡγεῖσθαι. ὥς δὲ εἶπον, καὶ
 2 ἐπικυρώσαι ἠνάγκασαν τὴν γνώμην. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς
 τὰς Ἀθήνας εὐθὺς πρέσβεις περὶ τε τῶν πεπραγμένων
 διδάξοντας ὥς ξυνέφερε καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας πεί-
 σοντας μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν, ὅπως μὴ τις ἐπιστροφὴ 15
 72 γένηται. ἐλθόντων δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς τε πρέσβεις ὥς
 νεωτερίζοντας ξυλλαβόντες, καὶ ὅσους ἔπεισαν, κατέθεντο
 ἐς Αἴγιαν.
 2 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα
 ἐλθούσης τριήρους Κορινθίας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεων 20
 3 ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐνίκησαν. ἀφικομένης
 δὲ νυκτὸς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς
 πόλεως καταφεύγει καὶ αὐτοῦ ξυλλεγείς ἰδρύθη, καὶ τὸν
 Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα εἶχον· οἱ δὲ τὴν τε ἀγορὰν κατέλαβον,
 οὐπὲρ οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤκουν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς 25
 73 αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα ἡκροβολίσαντό
 τε ὀλίγα καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς περιέπεμπον ἀμφοτέροι, τοὺς
 δούλους παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι·
 καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πλῆθος παρεγένετο ζύμ-
 μαχον, τοῖς δ' ἑτέροις ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐπίκουροι ὀκτακόσιοι. 30
 74 διαλιπούσης δ' ἡμέρας μάχη αὐθις γίγνεται καὶ νικᾷ ὁ δῆμος
 χωρίων τε ἰσχύϊ καὶ πλήθει προύχων· αἳ τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς
 τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κε-

ράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσαι τὸν θόρυβον. γενομένης 2
δὲ τῆς τροπῆς περὶ δελιὴν ὄψιν, δεισάντες οἱ ὄλγιοι μὴ
αὐτοβοεῖ ὁ δῆμος τοῦ τε νεωρίου κρατήσκειν ἐπελθὼν καὶ
σφᾶς διαφθείρειν, ἐμπιπράσι τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς
5 ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὰς ξυνοικίας, ὅπως μὴ ἢ ἔφοδος, φειδόμενοι
οὔτε οἰκείας οὔτε ἀλλοτρίας, ὥστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπό-
ρων κατεκαύθη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσεν πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι,
εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο τῇ φλογὶ ἐπίφορος ἐς αὐτήν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὥς ἐκάτεροι ἡσυχά- 3
10 σάντες τὴν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν· καὶ ἡ Κορινθία ναῦς
τοῦ δήμου κεκρατηκότος ὑπεξανήγετο, καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων
οἱ πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον λαθόντες διεκομίσθησαν. τῇ δὲ 75
ἐπιγιγνομένη ἡμέρᾳ Νικόστρατος ὁ Διειτρέφους Ἀθηναίων
στρατηγὸς παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δώδεκα ναυσὶ
15 καὶ Μεσσηνίων πεντακοσίοις ὀπλίταις· ξύμβασιν τε ἔπρασσε
καὶ πείθει ὥστε ξυγχωρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς
αἰτιωτάτους κρῖναι, οἱ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οἰκείῳ
σπονδὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησαμένους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,
ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζεω. καὶ ὁ μὲν 2
20 ταῦτα πράξας ἔμελλεν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου
προστάται πείθουσιν αὐτὸν πέντε μὲν ναῦς τῶν αὐτοῦ σφίσι
καταλιπεῖν, ὅπως ἡσούν τι ἐν κωήσῃ ὥσω οἱ ἐναντίοι,
ἴσας δὲ αὐτοὶ πληρώσαντες ἐκ σφῶν αὐτῶν ξυμπέμψειν.
καὶ ὁ μὲν ξυνεχώρησεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατέλεγον ἐς 3
25 τὰς ναῦς. δεισάντες δὲ ἐκείνοι μὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπο-
πεμφθῶσι καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκορών ἱερὸν. Νικό- 4
στρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνίστη τε καὶ παρεμβεῖτο. ὥς δ' οὐκ
ἔπειθεν, ὁ δῆμος ὀπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὥς οὐ-
δὲν αὐτῶν ὕγιες διανοομένων τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστία,
30 τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν τινας
οἷς ἐπέτυχον, εἰ μὴ Νικόστρατος ἐκώλυσε, διέφθειραν ἄν.
ὀρώντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ γιγνόμενα καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραίων 5

2 δελιὴν ὄψιν] τὸ δειλινόν M

26 διοσκόρων C : διοσκοῦρων cett.

ικέται καὶ γίνονται οὐκ ἐλάχιστους τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ δῆμος δέσας μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσιν ἀνίστησί τε αὐτοὺς πείσας καὶ διακομίζει ἐς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου νήσον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκείσε αὐτοῖς διεπέμπετο.

- 76 Τῆς δὲ στάσεως ἐν τούτῳ οὔσης τετάρτῃ ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ 5
μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν νήσον διακομιδὴν αἱ ἐκ τῆς
Κυλλήνης Πελοποννησίων νῆες, μετὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας
πλοῦν ἔφορμοι οὖσαι, παραγίνονται τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα·
ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλκίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ Βρασίδας
αὐτῶν ξύμβουλος ἐπέπλει. ὀρμισάμενοι δὲ ἐς Σύβοτα λιμένα 10
- 77 τῆς ἡπείρου ἅμα ἔφ' ἐπέπλεον τῇ Κερκύρᾳ. οἱ δὲ πολλῶ
θορύβῳ καὶ πεφοβημένοι τά τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν
παρεσκευάζοντό τε ἅμα ἐξήκοντα ναῦς καὶ τὰς αἰεὶ πληρου-
μένας ἐξέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, παραωσύντων Ἀθηναίων
σφᾶς τε εἶσαι πρῶτον ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ ὕστερον πάσαις ἅμα 15
- 2 ἐκείνους ἐπιγενέσθαι. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις
ἦσαν σποράδες αἱ νῆες, δύο μὲν εὐθὺς ἠγτομόλησαν, ἐν
ἐτέραις δὲ ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ἐμάχοντο, ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς
- 3 κόσμος τῶν ποιουμένων. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν
ταραχὴν εἴκοσι μὲν ναυσὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους ἐτάξαντο, 20
- ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πρὸς τὰς δώδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὧν
- 78 ἦσαν αἱ δύο Σαλαμῖναι καὶ Πάραλος. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι
κακῶς τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγας προσπίπτοντες ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ
καθ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν
περικύκλωσιν ἀθρόαις μὲν οὐ προσέπιπτον οὐδὲ κατὰ μέσον 25
- ταῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τεταγμέναις, προσβαλόντες δὲ κατὰ κέρας
καταδύνουσι μίαν ναῦν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κύκλον ταξαμένων
- 2 αὐτῶν περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπειῶντο θορυβεῖν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ
πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις καὶ δέσαντες μὴ ὅπερ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ
γένειτο, ἐπιβοηθοῦσι, καὶ γενόμεναι ἀθρόαι αἱ νῆες ἅμα τὸν 30
- 3 ἐπίπλουν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐποιοῦντο. οἱ δ' ὑπεχώρουν ἤδη

8 ἐφ' ὁρμῃ Stahl
codd.

23 ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ Haase : ἐταλαιπαρῶντο

πρύμνων κρουόμενοι καὶ ἅμα τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐβούλοντο προκαταφυγεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα, ἑαυτῶν σχολῇ τε ὑποχωρούντων καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς τεταγμένων τῶν ἐναντίων.

- Ἡ μὲν οὖν ναυμαχία τοιαύτη γενομένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου 4
 5 δύσω, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δέσαντες μὴ σφίσιν ἐπιπλεύσαντες 79
 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὥς κρατοῦντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
 νήσου ἀναλάβωσιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι νεωτερίσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐκ
 τῆς νήσου πάλιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραίων διεκόμεσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 ἐφύλασσον. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν πλεῦσαι 2
 10 κρατοῦντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα ναῦς ἔχοντες τῶν
 Κερκυραίων ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ὅθεν περ ἀνηγάγοντο.
 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, 3
 καί περ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ὄντας καὶ Βρασιδίου
 παραινοῦντος, ὥς λέγεται, Ἀλκίδα, Ἰσοψήφου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος·
 15 ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Λευκίμνην τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ἀποβάντες ἐπόρθουν
 τοὺς ἀγρούς. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐν τούτῳ περιδεῖς 80
 γενόμενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν αἱ νῆες, τοῖς τε ἰκέταις ᾗσαν
 ἐς λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ πόλις, καὶ
 τινας αὐτῶν ἔπεισαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι· ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ
 20 ὅμως τριάκοντα προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ Πελο- 2
 ποννήσιοι μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας δηώσαντες τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευ-
 σαν, καὶ ὑπὸ νύκτα αὐτοῖς ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν ἐξήκοντα νῆες
 Ἀθηναίων προσπλέουσαι ἀπὸ Λευκάδος· ἃς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
 πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὰς μετ' Ἀλκίδου ναῦς ἐπὶ
 25 Κέρκυραν μελλούσας πλεῖν ἀπέστειλαν καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν
 Θουκλέους στρατηγόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς νυκτὸς 81
 εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκομίζοντο ἐπ' οἴκου παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ
 ὑπερενεγκόντες τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν τὰς ναῦς, ὅπως μὴ
 περιπλέοντες ὀφθῶσιν, ἀποκομίζονται. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ αἱ- 2
 30 σθήμενοι τὰς τε Ἀττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεύσας τὰς τε τῶν
 πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τοὺς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐς τὴν

8 πάλιν G : πάλαι cett.
 δὲ codd. (δὲ om. B M)
 τὸν ἐπίπλουν om. A B F

10 τρεῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα vulgo : τρισκαίδεκα
 15 Λευκίμνην C G 20 προσδεχόμενοι
 28 τὸν a c : τῶν codd. [G]

- πόλῳ ἤγαγον πρότερον ἔξω ὄντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς περιπλεῦσαι
 κελεύσαντες ὡς ἐπλήρωσαν ἐς τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα, ἐν ὅσῳ
 περιεκομίζοντο, τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ἀπέκτεινον·
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὅσους ἔπεισαν ἐσβῆναι ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπε-
 χρῶντο, ἐς τὸ Ἡραιὸν τε ἐλθόντες τῶν ἱκετῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα 5
 3 ἄνδρας δίκην ὑποσχέειν ἔπεισαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν πάντων θά-
 νατον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν, ὥς
 ἑώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα, διέφθειρον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους,
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο, οἱ δ' ὥς ἕκαστοι
 4 ἐδύναντο ἀηλοῦντο. ἡμέρας τε ἑπτὰ, ὡς ἀφικόμενος ὁ 10
 Εὐρυμέδων ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν
 αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνευσαν, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν
 ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν, ἀπέθανον δέ τινας
 καὶ ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἔνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσιν ὀφειλο-
 5 μένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων· πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, 15
 καὶ οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ ξυνέβη
 καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. καὶ γὰρ πατήρ παιδὰ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δέ τινας
 καὶ περιιοκοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον.
 82 Οὕτως ὦμῃ (ῆ) στάσις προχώρησε, καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, 20.
 διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὡς
 εἶπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἑκασταχοῦ
 τοῖς τε τῶν δῆμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι
 καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ
 οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδ' ἐτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτούς, 25
 πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἐκατέρους τῇ τῶν ἐναν-
 τίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσῃ
 ῥαδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορί-
 2 ζονται. καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς
 πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ 30
 φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαιτέρᾳ καὶ τοῖς εἶδεσι

4 ἀπεχρῶντο γρ. C F M An. Bekk. Suid. : ἀπεχώρησαν codd. : ἀπε-
 χρῶντο Dion. Hal. 8 διέφθειρον G M Dion. Hal. : διέφθειραν cett.
 20 ἡ add. Krüger 31 post φύσις add. τῶν B [G]

διηλλαγμένα, ὥς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχῶν
ἐφιστάνται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασι αἱ
τε πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι διὰ τὸ
μὴ ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ὑφελὼν τὴν
5 εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίαιος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρὸς τὰ
παρόντα τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ. ἔστασίαζέ τε οὖν 3
τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που πύσσει τῶν προ-
γενομένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς
διανοίας τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν
10 ἀποπιά. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ 4
ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιοῦσει. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος
ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθὴς δειλία
εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ
πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν· τὸ δ' ἐμπληκτικὸς ὄξυ
15 ἀνδρὸς μόλις προστεθῇ, ἀσφαλεία δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι
ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὐλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς 5
αἰεὶ, ὁ δ' ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ ὑποπτος. ἐπιβουλεύσας δέ τις
τυχῶν ξυνετὸς καὶ ὑπονοήσας ἔτι δεινότερος· προβουλεύσας
δὲ ὅπως μὴδὲν αὐτῶν δεήσει, τῆς τε ἑταιρίας διαλυτῆς καὶ
20 τοὺς ἐναντοὺς ἐκπεπληγμένους. ἀπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθᾶσας τὸν
μέλλοντα κακόν τι δρᾶν ἐπηνεῖτο, καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν
μὴ διανοοῦμενον. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ 6
ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασί-
στως τολμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίας αἱ
25 τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξία.
καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστει οὐ τῷ θεῷ νόμῳ μᾶλλον
ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομήσαι. τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν 7
ἐναντιῶν καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέχοντο ἔργων φυλακῇ, εἰ
προύχοιεν, καὶ οὐ γενναίῳτι. ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τέ τινα
30 περὶ πλείονος ἢν ἢ αὐτὸν μὴ προπαθεῖν. καὶ ὅρκοι εἰ που

1 ἕκασται C: ἕκαστα cett. [G] 7 ἀποπύσσει FM: ἐπιπύσσει
Dion. Hal. 15 ἀσφαλεία B f g M Schol.: ἀσφάλεια cett. 18 post
τυχῶν add. τε Dion. Hal. 20 δεῖ] τε Haase 24 ὠφελία
Porpo

- ἄρα γένουτο ξυναλλαγῆς, ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον
ἐκατέρφω διδόμενοι ἴσχυον οὐκ ἔχόντων ἄλλοθεν δύναμιν· ἐν
δὲ τῷ παρατυχόντι ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι, εἰ ἴδοι ἄφαρκτον,
ἡδίων διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, καὶ
τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι ἀπάτη περιγενομένουσιν ξυνέ- 5
σεως ἀγώνισμα προσελάμβανεν. ῥῆον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι
ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἰσχύ-
8 νονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται. πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον
ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς
τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρόθυμον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς 10
πόλεσι προστάτες μετὰ ὀνόματος ἐκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλή-
θους τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σῶφρονος
προτιμῆσαι, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἄλλα ἐποιοῦντο,
παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμη-
σάν τε τὰ δεινότατα ἐπεξῆσαν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, 15
οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφόρου προτιθέντες, ἐς
δὲ τὸ ἐκατέροις που αἰεὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ὀρίζοντες, καὶ ἡ μετὰ
ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως ἢ χειρὶ κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν
ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν ἐκπιμπλάναι. ὥστε
εὐσεβεῖα μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπεία δὲ λόγου οἷς 20
ξυμβαίῃ ἐπιφθόνως τι διαπράξασθαι, ἄμεινον ἤκουον. τὰ
δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἢ ὅτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο
ἢ φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι διεφθείροντο.
- 83 Οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις
τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, καὶ τὸ εὖηθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετ- 25
έχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι ἀλλήλοις
2 τῇ γνώμῃ ἀπίστως ἐπὶ πολλὴ διήνεγκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύ-
σων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὄρκος φοβερός, κρείσσους δὲ
ὄντες ἅπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου μὴ
3 παθεῖν μᾶλλον προσυκόπουν ἢ πιστεῦσαι ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ 30
φαιλότεροι γνώμην ὥς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ

δεδιέναι τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεῆς καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνητόν,
μὴ λόγοις τε ἥσσους ὦσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς
γνώμης φθάσωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ
ἔργα ἐχώρουν. οἱ δὲ καταφρονούντες κὰν προαισθέσθαι καὶ 4
5 ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν ἢ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν, ἄφαρκτοι
μᾶλλον διεφθείροντο.

[Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προτυολμήθη, 84
καὶ ὅποσα ὕβρει μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τὸ πλεόν ἢ σωφροσύνη ὑπὸ
τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχόντων οἱ ἀνταμυνόμενοι δράσειαν,
10 πενίας δὲ τῆς εἰωθυίας ἀπαλλαξείοντές τινας, μάλιστα δ' ἂν
διὰ πάθους, ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν, παρὰ δίκην
γιγνώσκοιεν, οἳ τε μὴ ἐπὶ πλεονεξία, ἀπὸ Ἰσου δὲ μάλιστα
ἐπιόντες ἀπαιδευσίᾳ ὀργῆς πλεῖστον ἐκφερόμενοι ὡμῶς καὶ
ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπέλθοιεν. ξυνταραχέντος τε τοῦ βίου ἐς 2
15 τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἡ
ἀνθρωπεία φύσις, εἰωθυῖα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν,
ἀσμένῃ ἐδήλωσεν ἀκρατῆς μὲν ὀργῆς οὖσα, κρείσσων δὲ
τοῦ δικαίου, πολεμία δὲ τοῦ προύχοντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ
τε ὀσίου τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι προυτίθεσαν τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικεῖν
20 τὸ κερδαίνειν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἰσχὺν εἶχε τὸ φθονεῖν.
ἀξιοῦσί τε τοὺς κοινούς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἄνθρωποι 3
νόμους, ἀφ' ὧν ἅπασις ἐλπίς ὑπόκειται σφαλῆσαι καὶ αὐ-
τοὺς διασφύζεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλων τιμωρίαις προκαταλύειν καὶ μὴ
ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἴ ποτε ἄρα τις κωδυνεύσας τινὸς δεήσεται
25 αὐτῶν.]

Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις ὁργαῖς 85
ταῖς πρῶταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων καὶ
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν ταῖς ναυσίν· ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύ- 2
γοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων (διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντα-
30 κοσίους) τεῖχιν τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν
τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὀρμώμενοι ἐλήζοντο

c. 84 damnaverunt grammatici apud Schol. 8 ὁπόσ' ἂν Hude
10 τινας f Schol. : τινας codd. 31 ἐλήζον A B E F M γρ. G

τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον, καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς
 3 ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακε-
 δαίμονα καὶ Κόρωθον περὶ καθόδου· καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς
 ἐπράσσετο, ὕστερον χρόνῳ πλοῖα καὶ ἐπικούρους παρασκευα-
 σάμενοι διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες, 5
 καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐμπρήσαντες, ὅπως ἀπόγνοια ἢ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ
 κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰστώνην, τεῖχος
 ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι ἔφθειρον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς γῆς
 ἐκράτουν.

86 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι ναῦς 10
 ἔστειλαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Λάχνητα τὸν Μελανώπου στρατηγὸν
 2 αὐτῶν καὶ Χαριοιάδην τὸν Εὐφιλήτου. οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι
 καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ζύμμαχοι
 δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαριναίων αἱ ἄλλαι
 Δωριῖδες πόλεις, αἵ περ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ 15
 πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ζυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ
 μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ
 πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρα-
 3 κοσίων ἦσαν, Ῥηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίνων. ἐς
 οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ζύμμαχοι κατὰ 20
 τε παλαιὰν ζυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν πείθουσι τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων
 4 τῆς τε γῆς εἵργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε
 σῆτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἄγεσθαι αὐτόθεν πρόπειράν τε 25
 ποιούμενοι εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα
 5 ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι. καταστάντες οὖν ἐς Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰτα-
 λίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιούντο μετὰ τῶν ζυμμάχων. καὶ τὸ
 θέρους ἐτελεύτα.

87 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἡ νόσος τὸ δεύτερον ἐπέ- 30
 πεσε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκλιπούσα μὲν οὐδένα χρόνον τὸ
 2 παντάπασι, ἐγένετο δέ τις ὅμως διοικωχή. παρέμεινε δὲ
 τὸ μὲν ὕστερον οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐνιαυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πρότερον καὶ

δύο ἔτη, ὥστε Ἀθηναίους γε μὴ εἶναι ὅτι μᾶλλον τούτου
ἐπίεσε καὶ ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν· τετρακοσίων γὰρ ὀπλιτῶν 3
καὶ τετρακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τάξεων
καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ὄχλου ἀνεξέυρετος
5 ἀριθμός. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ σεισμοὶ τότε τῆς γῆς, 4
ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα
ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τῷ Βοιωτίῳ.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥηγῶι τοῦ αὐτοῦ 88
χειμῶνος τριάκοντα ναυσὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους
10 καλουμένας· θέρους γὰρ δι' ἀνδρίαν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιστρα-
τεύειν. νέμονται δὲ Λιπαραῖοι αὐτάς, Κνιδίων ἀποικοὶ ὄντες. 2
οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων οὐ μεγάλη, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπάρα·
τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι γεωργοῦσι, Διδύμην καὶ
Στρογγύλην καὶ Ἱερῶν. νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκεῖν ἄνθρωποι 3
15 ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὡς ὁ Ἡφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται
πῦρ ἀναδιδούσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνόν. κεύνται δὲ
αἱ νῆσοι αὗται κατὰ τὴν Σικελῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν, ξύμ-
μαχοι δ' ἦσαν Συρακοσίων. τεμώντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν 4
γῆν, ὡς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον. καὶ
20 ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα
τῷδε δὲ Θουκυλίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ- 89
μαχοὶ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ἰσθοῦ ἦλθον ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ἐσβαλοῦντες, Ἀγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἡγουμένου Λακεδαιμο-
25 νίων βασιλέως, σεισμῶν δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν ἀπετράποντο
πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐσβολή. καὶ περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρό- 2
νους, τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Ὀροβίαις
ἡ θάλασσα ἐπαυελθοῦσα ἀπὸ τῆς τότε οὕσης γῆς καὶ κυμα-
τωθεῖσα ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε,

1, 2 Ἀθηναίους . . . δύναμιν C et γρ. ABF (τε pro γε ABcF, τού-
τους omnes, sed s in C paene erasum, post καὶ add. μᾶλλον ABF): Ἀθη-
ναίων γε μὴ εἶναι ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν cett. [G] 5 τότε
σεισμοὶ AB EFM [G] 6 alterum ἐν C: om. cett. [G] 28 ἐπα-
υελθοῦσα Schol.: ἐπελθοῦσα codd.

τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ θάλασσα νῦν ἔστι πρότερον οὔσα γῆ·
καὶ ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ
3 μετέωρα ἀναδραμόντες. καὶ περὶ Ἀταλάντην τὴν ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς
τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσον παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπὶ κλυσις, καὶ
τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρέιλε καὶ δύο νεῶν ἀνείλ- 5
4 κυσμένων τὴν ἑτέραν κατέαξεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πιεπαρήθῳ
κύματος ἐπαναχώρησός τις, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέκλυσέ γε· καὶ
σεισμός τοῦ τείχους τι κατέβαλε καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ
5 ἄλλας οἰκίας ὀλίγας. αἷτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιοῦτου,
ἥ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμός ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν 10
τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἑξαπῶνς πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην βιαιότερον
τὴν ἐπὶ κλυσιὶν ποιεῖν· ἀνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ
τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.

90 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὥς ἐκάστοις
ξυνέβαινεν, ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιώται ἐπ' ἀλλή- 15
λους στρατεύοντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμ-
μάχοις· ἃ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἦ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ
ξύμμαχοι ἔπραξαν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἀντιπόλεμοι,
2 τούτων μνησθήσομαι. Χαροιάδου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀθηναίων
στρατηγοῦ τεθυγκότος ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων πολέμῳ Λάχης ἀπα- 20
σαν ἔχων τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐστράτευσεν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων
ἐπὶ Μυλᾷ τὰς Μεσσηνίων. ἔτυχον δὲ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν ταῖς
Μυλαῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροῦσαι καὶ τινα καὶ ἐνέδραν
3 πεποιημέναι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τρέπουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσι 25
πολλούς, καὶ τῷ ἐρύματι προσβαλόντες ἠνάγκασαν ὁμολογίᾳ
τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην ξυστρατεῦ-
4σαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε
Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσεχώρησαν καὶ αὐτοί,
ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὰ παρασχόμενοι. 30

91 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα μὲν ναῦς

11 ἐπισπόμενον, ut videtur, legit Schol. 18 ἀντιπόλεμοι Pollux :
ἀντιπολέμοι codd. 22 post τὰς add. τῶν A B E F M [G]

ἔστειλαν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Δημοσθένης
 τε ὁ Ἀλκισθένης καὶ Προκλῆς ὁ Θεοδώρου, ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἐς
 Μῆλον καὶ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Νικίας
 ὁ Νικηράτου. τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίουι ὄντας νησιώτας καὶ οὐκ 2
 5 ἐθέλοντας ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ξυμμαχικὸν ἵεναι
 ἐβούλοντο προσαγαγέσθαι. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς δηουμένης τῆς 3
 γῆς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἄραυτες ἐκ τῆς Μήλου αὐτοὶ μὲν
 ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς Γραικῆς, ὑπὸ νύκτα δὲ σχόντες
 εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὀπλίται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν περὶ ἐς Τάναγραν
 10 τῆς Βοιωτίας. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, 4
 Ἴππονίκου τε τοῦ Καλλίου στρατηγούντος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος
 τοῦ Θουκλέους, ἀπὸ σημείου ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπήντων.
 καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ Τανάγρα 5
 ἐδήρουν καὶ ἐνυλλίσαντο. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραῇ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες
 15 τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας τῶν Ταναγραίων καὶ Θηβαίων τινας προσ-
 βεβηθηκότας καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες
 ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. καὶ 6
 παραπλεύσας ὁ Νικίας ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος τὰ
 ἐπιθαλάσσια ἔτεμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἶκου.
 20 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἡράκλειαν 92
 τὴν ἐν Τραχυνίᾳ ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο ἀπὸ τοιαύδε γνῶμης.
 Μηλιῆς οἱ ξύμπαντες εἰσὶ μὲν τρία μέρη, Παράλιοι Ἰριῆς 2
 Τραχύνιοι· τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχύνιοι πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ
 Οἰταίων ὁμόρων ὄντων, τὸ πρῶτον μελλήσαντες Ἀθηναίοις
 25 προσθεῖναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, δέισαντες δὲ μὴ οὐ σφίσι πιστοὶ
 ᾧσι, πέμπουσιν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἐλόμενοι πρεσβυτὴν Τει-
 σαμενόν. ξυνεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Δωριῆς, ἡ μητρό- 3
 πολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τῶν αὐτῶν δεόμενοι· ὑπὸ γὰρ
 τῶν Οἰταίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφθείροντο. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Λακε- 4
 30 δαιμόνιοι γνῶμην εἶχον τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν, τοῖς τε
 Τραχυνίοις βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τιμωρέων. καὶ

5 αὐτῶν Krüger

8 Γραικῆς Stahl: πέραν γῆς codd.

21 Τρα-

χυνίας A B E F M suprascr. G

22 Ἰριῆς Bursian: Ἰερῆς codd.

29 post αὐτοὶ add. πολέμῳ C G

- ἔμα τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἢ πόλιν καθίστασθαι· ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ναυτικὸν παρασκευασθῆναι ἂν, ὥστ' ἐκ βραχείας τὴν διάβασιν γίγνεσθαι, τῆς τε ἐπὶ Θράκης παρόδου χρησίμως ἔξω. τό τε ζύμπαν
 5 ὠρμηντο τὸ χωρίον κτίζεω. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς 5 τὸν θεὸν ἐπῆρουντο, κελεύοντος δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευον ἔπεσθαι πλὴν Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἔστιν ὧν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν. οἰκιστὰι δὲ τρεῖς Λακεδαιμονίων
 6 ἡγήσαντο, Λέων καὶ Ἀλκίδας καὶ Δαμάγων. καταστάντες 10 δὲ ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ καυῆς, ἣ νῦν Ἡράκλεια καλεῖται, ἀπέχουσα Θερμοπυλῶν σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ἑικοσι. νεώριά τε παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ εἶρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στενόν, ὅπως εὐφύλακτα
 93 αὐτοῖς εἴη. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ξυνοικισ- 15 μένης τὸ πρῶτον ἔδεισαν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ μάλιστα καθίστασθαι, ὅτι βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ διάπλους πρὸς τὸ Κήναιον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἔπειτα μέντοι παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς
 2 ἀπέβη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεινὸν οὐδέν. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἷ τε Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, 20 καὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι μεγάλη ἰσχύϊ παροικῶσιν, ἔφθειρον καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐπολέμουν ἀνθρώποις νεοκαταστάτοις, ἕως ἐξετρύχωσαν γενομένους τὸ πρῶτον καὶ πάνν πολλοὺς (πῶς γάρ τις Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκίζόντων θαρσαλέως ᾗει, βέβαιον νομίζων τὴν πόλιν)· οὐ 25 μέντοι ἥκιστα οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι τὰ πράγματά τε ἔφθειρον καὶ ἐς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν κατέστησαν, ἐκφοβήσαντες τοὺς πολλοὺς χαλεπῶς τε καὶ ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενοι, ὥστε ῥᾶον ἤδη αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσκοικοι ἐπεκράτουν. 30
- 94 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃν ἐν τῇ Μήλῃ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατεῖχοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα

νεῶν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὄντες πρῶτον ἐν Ἑλλο-
 μενῷ τῆς Λευκαδίας φρουρούς τινας λοχήσαντες διέφθειραν,
 ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἐπὶ Λευκάδα μείζονι στόλῳ ἦλθον, Ἀκαρνᾶσί
 τε πᾶσι, οἱ πανδημεὶ πλὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ξυνέσποντο, καὶ Ζα-
 5 κυνθίοις καὶ Κεφαλῆσι καὶ Κερκυραίων πέντε καὶ δέκα
 ναυσίν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λευκάδιοι τῆς τε ἕξω γῆς δηουμένης 2
 καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ Λευκάς ἐστι καὶ τὸ
 ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχαζον· οἱ δὲ
 Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἡξίουσαν Δημοσθένη τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 10 ἀποτειχίζεω αὐτούς, νομίζοντες ῥαδίως γ' ἂν ἐκπολιορκῆσαι
 καὶ πόλεως αἰεὶ σφίσι πολεμίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Δημοσθένης 3
 δ' ἀναπίθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὥς
 καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾷ τοσαύτης ξυνειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπι-
 θέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι καί, ἣν κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν,
 15 ῥαδίως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ Ἀθηναίοις προσ-
 ποιήσῃ. τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 4
 καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κόμας ἀτειχίστους, καὶ ταύτας
 διὰ πολλοῦ, καὶ σκευῇ ψιλῇ χρώμενον οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον,
 πρὶν ξυμβοηθῆσαι, καταστραφῆναι. ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευον 5
 20 πρῶτον μὲν Ἀποδωτοῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ Ὀφιονεῦσι καὶ μετὰ τού-
 τους Εὐρυτάσῳ, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν,
 ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὁμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὥς λέγονται·
 τούτων γὰρ ληφθέντων ῥαδίως καὶ τᾶλλα προσχωρήσῃ.
 ὁ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεὶς καὶ μάλιστα νομίσας 95
 25 ἀνευ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ξυμμάχοις
 μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δύνασθαι ἂν κατὰ γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιω-
 τοὺς διὰ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐν
 δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν Παρνασσόν, ἕως καταβαίῃ ἐς Φωκέας, οἱ
 προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ ποτε φιλίαν
 30 ξυστρατεύσειν ἢ καὶ βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι (καὶ Φωκεῦσιν ἦδη
 ὁμορος ἡ Βοιωτία ἐστίν), ἄρας οὖν ζύμπαντι τῷ στρατεύματι

2 Λευκαδίας E : Ἀρκαδίας cett.
 πόλεως C : πόλεως τε cett. [G]
 τεύσαι M : ξυ(ν)στρατεύειν cett.

10 γ' C : τ' cett. [G]

30 ξυστρατεύσειν Stahl : ξυστρα-

11 καὶ

- ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀκόντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρέπλευσεν ἐς
 2 Σόλλιον. κωνώσας δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσι, ὥς οὐ
 προσεδέξαντο διὰ τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν, αὐτὸς
 τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ, Κεφαλλῆσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίοις
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίοις τοῖς ἐπιβάταις τῶν σφετέρων 5
 νεῶν (αἱ γὰρ πέντε καὶ δέκα τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπῆλθον νῆες),
 3 ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλοῦς. ὠρμάτο δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεῶνος τῆς
 Λοκρίδος. οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλαι οὗτοι Λοκροὶ ξύμμαχοι ἦσαν, καὶ
 ἔδει αὐτοὺς πανστρατιᾷ ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὴν
 μεσόγειαν· ὄντες γὰρ ὅμοροι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ ὁμόσκενοι 10
 μεγάλη ὠφελία ἐδόκουν εἶναι ξυστρατεύοντες μάχης τε ἐμ-
 96 πειρία τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ χωρίων. αὐλισάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ
 ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητῆς
 λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ ἀποθανεῖν, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέᾳ
 τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἅμα τῇ ἔφ' ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν. 15
 2 καὶ αἰρεῖ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ποτιδανίαν καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Κρο-
 κύλειον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ Τεῖχιον, ἔμενέ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λείαν
 ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψεν· τὴν γὰρ γυνῶμην
 εἶχε τὰ ἄλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, εἰ μὴ
 βούλωτο ξυγχαρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας στρα- 20
 τεῦσαι ὕστερον.
 3 Τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ οὔτε
 ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεβουλεύετο, ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβε-
 βλήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι
 Ὀφιονέων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες Βωμιῆς 25
 97 καὶ Καλλιῆς ἐβοήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ
 Μεσσηνιοὶ παρήνουν, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον· ἀναδιδάσκοντες
 αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὥς εἴη ῥαδία ἢ αἵρεσις, ἵνα ἐκέλευον
 ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας καὶ μὴ μένειν ἕως ἂν ξύμπαντες
 ἀθροισθέντες ἀντιτάζωνται, τὴν δ' ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ πειρᾶσθαι 30
 2 αἰρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε πεισθεὶς καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας, ὅτι
 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἡναιτιοῦτο, τοὺς Λοκροὺς οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδ

αὐτῷ ἔδει προσβοηθῆσαι (ψιλῶν γὰρ ἀκοντιστῶν ἐνδεῆς ἦν
 μάλιστα) ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Αἰγυτίου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ ἐπιῶν.
 ὑπέφευγον γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων ἀπέχουσα
 5 τῆς θαλάσσης ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ 3
 (βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἤδη ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰγίτιον) προσέβαλλον
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καταθέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν
 λόφων ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐπιοῖ τὸ
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ὑπεχώρουν, ἀναχωροῦσι δὲ
 10 ἐπέκειντο· καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοιαύτη ἡ μάχη, διώξεις τε
 καὶ ὑπαγωγαί, ἐν οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ἦσους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.
 μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰοί τε 98
 ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον (τοξενόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ
 ἄνθρωποι ψιλοὶ ἀνεστέλλοντο)· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου
 15 ἀποθανόντος οὗτοι διεσκεδάσθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεκμήκεσαν
 καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ξυνεχόμενοι, οἳ τε Αἰτωλοὶ
 ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ
 ἐσπίπτοντες ἔς τε χαράδρας ἀνεκβάτους καὶ χωρία ὧν οὐκ
 ἦσαν ἔμπειροι διεφθείροντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς τῶν
 20 ὀδῶν Χρόμων ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἐτύγχανε τεθνηκώς. οἱ δὲ 2
 Αἰτωλοὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ
 κατὰ πόδας αἰροῦντες ἄνθρωποι ποδώκεις καὶ ψιλοὶ δι-
 ἐφθειρον, τοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν ὀδῶν ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ ἔς τὴν
 ὕλην ἐσφερομένους, ὅθεν διέξοδοι οὐκ ἦσαν, πῦρ κομισά-
 25 μενοι περιεπύμπρασαν· πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη τῆς φυγῆς 3
 καὶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μόλις τε
 ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνέωνα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ὅθεν περ
 καὶ ὠρμήθησαν, οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον. ἀπέθανον δὲ 4
 τῶν τε ξυμμάχων πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίται περὶ
 30 εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν. τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ
 ἡλικία ἡ αὐτὴ οὗτοι βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ

3 ὑπέφυγον Herwerden 6 προσέβαλον CG 26 τῷ στρα-
 τοπέδῳ Reiske : τῶν στρατοπέδων cett. : in Atheniensis exercitu Valla

- τῷδε ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως διεφθάρησαν· ἀπέθανε δὲ
 5 καὶ ὁ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς Προκλῆς. τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ὑπο-
 σπόνδους ἀνελόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες
 ἐς Ναύπακτον ὕστερον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκομί-
 σθησαν. Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία 5
 ταῦτα ὑπελείφθη, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους.
- 99 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν
 Ἀθηναῖοι πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐν ἀποβάσει τέ τινα
 τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ περιπόλιον 10
 αἰροῦσιν ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ.
- 100 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Αἰτωλοὶ προπέμψαντες πρότερον ἔς
 τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις, Τόλοφόν τε τὸν
 Ὀφιονέα καὶ Βοριάδην τὸν Εὐρυτάνα καὶ Τέλειανδρον τὸν
 Ἀποδωτόν, πείθουσιν ὥστε σφίσι πέμψαι στρατιὰν ἐπὶ 15
 2 Ναύπακτον διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγὴν. καὶ ἐξέ-
 πεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον τρισχιλίους
 ὀπλίτας τῶν ξυμμάχων. τούτων ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι ἐξ
 Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν Τραχίνι πόλεως τότε νεοκτίστου οὔσης·
 Σπαρτιάτης δ' ἦρχεν Εὐρύλοχος τῆς στρατίας, καὶ ξυνη- 20
 κολούθουν αὐτῷ Μακάριος καὶ Μενεδαῖος οἱ Σπαρτιάται.
- 101 ξυλληγέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεκηρυκένετο
 Εὐρύλοχος Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀζόλαις· διὰ τούτων γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν
 ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ἅμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐβούλετο ἀποσπῆσαι
 2 αὐτούς. ξυνέπρασσον δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν Ἀμ- 25
 φισσῆς διὰ τὸ τῶν Φωκέων ἔχθος δεδιότες· καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι
 δόντες ὁμήρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισαν δοῦναι φοβουμένους
 τὸν ἐπιόντα στρατόν, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς
 Μυονέας (ταύτη γὰρ δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς), ἔπειτα
 Ἰπνέας καὶ Μεσσαπίους καὶ Τριταιέας καὶ Χαλαίους καὶ 30

21 Μενεδαῖος Hudson (accentum corr. L. Dindorf) : Μενεδατος codd.
 26 πρῶτοι Krüger : πρῶτον codd. : primi Valla 29 Μυανέας in titulis
 scribitur 30 Μεταπίους Steph. Byz. Τριτοιέας CG : Τριταίους
 Steph. Byz. : Τριτέας in titulis scribitur Χαλειέας in titulis scribitur

Τολοφωνίους καὶ Ἑσσίους καὶ Οἰανθέας. οὗτοι καὶ ξυν-
 εστράτευον πάντες. Ὀλπαῖοι δὲ ὁμήρους μὲν ἔδοσαν, ἡκο-
 λούθουν δὲ οὐ· καὶ Ὑαῖοι οὐκ ἔδοσαν ὁμήρους πρὶν αὐτῶν
 εἶλον κώμην Πόλιω ὄνομα ἔχουσαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκευάστο 102
 5 πάντα καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους κατέθετο ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν,
 ἐχώρει τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον διὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν, καὶ
 πορευόμενος Οἰνεῶνα αἰρεῖ αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐπάλιον· οὐ γὰρ
 προσεχώρησαν. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυπακτίᾳ καὶ οἱ 2
 Αἰτωλοὶ ἅμα ἤδη προσβεβηθηκότες ἐδήρουν τὴν γῆν καὶ
 10 τὸ προάστειον ἀτείχιστον ὃν εἶλον· ἐπὶ τε Μολύκρειον
 ἐλθόντες τὴν Κορωθίων μὲν ἀποίκιαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπήκοον,
 αἰροῦσιν. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν 3
 ὢν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας περὶ Ναύπακτον) προαισθό-
 μενος τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ δέισας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἐλθὼν πείθει
 15 Ἀκαρνᾶνας, χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀναχώρησιν,
 βοηθῆσαι Ναυπάκτῳ. καὶ πέμπουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν 4
 νεῶν χιλίους ὀπλίτας, οἱ ἐσελθόντες περιεποίησαν τὸ χωρίον·
 δειῶν γὰρ ἦν μὴ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγων δὲ τῶν
 ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἀντίσχωσιν. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' 5
 20 αὐτοῦ ὥς ᾗσθοντο τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσεληλυθυῖαν καὶ ἀδύνατον
 ὃν τὴν πόλιν βιά ἐλεῖν, ἀνεχώρησαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου,
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλυδῶνα καὶ
 Πλευρῶνα καὶ ἐς τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία καὶ ἐς Πρόσχιον τῆς
 Αἰτωλίας. οἱ γὰρ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς 6
 25 πείθουσιν ὥστε μετὰ σφῶν Ἀργεῖ τε τῷ Ἀμφιλοχικῷ καὶ
 Ἀμφιλοχίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ ἅμα, λέ-
 γοντες ὅτι, ἦν τούτων κρατήσωσι, πᾶν τὸ ἡπειρωτικὸν Λακε-
 δαιμονίοις ξύμμαχον καθεστήξει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐρύλοχος 7
 πεισθεὶς καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφείς ἡσύχαζε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ
 30 τοὺς χώρους τούτους, ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσά-
 μένοις περὶ τὸ Ἄργος δέοι βοηθεῖν. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.
 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου χεიმῶνος 103

- ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν
κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες
ἀποστάντες αὐτοῖς [ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων] ξυνεπολέμουν, ἐπ'
Ἰνῆσαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα, οὗ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Συρα-
κόσιοι εἶχον, προσέβαλον, καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, 5
- 2 ἀπῆσαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ὑστέροις Ἀθηναίων τοῖς
ξυμμάχοις ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος
Συρακόσιοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες τρέπουσί τε μέρος τι τοῦ
- 3 στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐκ ὀλίγους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ
τῶν νεῶν ὁ Λάξης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἀπο- 10
βάσεις τιὰς ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τὸν Καϊκῖνον ποταμὸν τοὺς
προσβοηθοῦντας Λοκρῶν μετὰ Προξένου τοῦ Καπάτωνος
ὥς τριακοσίους μάχη ἐκράτησαν καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες ἀπε-
χώρησαν.
- 104 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι 15
κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τιὰς. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος
ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου· τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῷδε
- 2 τρόπῳ. θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθυεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας
ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προείπον μήτε ἐναποθυήσκειν ἐν τῇ 20
νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι.
ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια τῆς Δήλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυ-
κράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος ἰσχύσας τιὰς χρόνον ναυτικῶ
καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων νήσων ἄρξας καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν
ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλῷ ἄλυσαι δῆσας πρὸς τὴν 25
Δῆλον. καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν
- 3 ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δῆλια. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι
μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων
νησιωτῶν· ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ
νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ 30
- 4 γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικός, χοροὺς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις. δηλοῖ

3 ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων secl. Kistemaker ἐπ' Ἰνῆσαν F: ἐπὶ νήσου
σαν ABCE: ἐπ' Ἰνῆσαν M: ἐπὶ νήσου c G 26 πενταετηρίδα G
(a erasum) M: πεντετηρίαν C 27 τὰ Δῆλια secl. Herwerden

δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ
ἐστὼν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος·

ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστα γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἡγερέθονται
5 σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν·
ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ αἰοιδῇ
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων ἐν 5
τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοῖ, ἃ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου· τὸν γὰρ
10 Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου
ἐς τὰδε τὰ ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη·

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
μνήσασθ', ὅππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
15 ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν·
'ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὕμνῳ ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος αἰοιδῶν
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέφ' τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμῳς·
'τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνι παιπαλοέσση·'

20 τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὅμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι 6
μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ· ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς
μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμ-
πον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ
ξυμφορῶν, ὥς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα
25 ἐποίησαν καὶ ἵπποδρομίας, δ' πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀμπρακιῶται, ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι 105
Εὐρυλόχῳ τὴν στρατιὰν κατέσχον, ἐκστρατεύονται ἐπὶ Ἄργος
τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν τρισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις, καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς
τὴν Ἀργεῖαν καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου
30 ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ, ὃ ποτε Ἀκαρνᾶνες τειχιζόμενοι
κοινῇ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρώντο· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργείων

3 ἄλλοτε Camerarius
hymn. Hom.: ὕμνῳ codd.

6 τε vulgo: om. codd.
30 post Ἀκαρνᾶνες add. καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι Niese

16 ὕμνῳ codd.
30 post Ἀκαρνᾶνες add. καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι Niese

πόλεως ἐπιθαλασσίας οὔσης πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων
 2 μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οἱ μὲν ἐς Ἄργος ξυνεβοήθουν,
 οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ὃ Κρήναι
 καλεῖται, φυλάσσοντες τοὺς μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννη-
 σίους μὴ λάθωσι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας διελθόντες, ἔστρα- 5
 3 τοπεδεύσαντο. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένη τὸν ἐς τὴν
 Αἰτωλίαν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγήσαντα, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡγεμῶν
 γίγνηται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων αἱ ἔτυχον περὶ
 Πελοπόννησον οὔσαι, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀριστοτέλης τε ὁ Τιμοκρά-
 4 τος καὶ Ἱεροφῶν ὁ Ἀντιμνήστου. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ ἄγγελον 10
 οἱ περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας Ἀμπρακιῶται ἐς τὴν πόλιν κελεύοντες
 σφίσι βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ μετ' Εὐρυλόχου οὐ
 δύνωνται διελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ σφίσιν ἢ μονωθεῖσιν
 ἢ μάχῃ γένηται ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν βουλομένοις οὐκ ᾗ ἀσφαλές.
 106 Οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννήσιοι ὥς ᾗσθοντο 15
 τοὺς ἐν Ὀλπαῖς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἦκοντας, ἄραντες ἐκ τοῦ
 Προσχίου ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ἀχε-
 λῶν ἐχώρουν δι' Ἀκαρνανίας οὔσης ἐρήμου διὰ τὴν ἐς
 Ἄργος βοήθειαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες τὴν Στρατίων πόλιν
 καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀκαρνα- 20
 2 νίαν. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Στρατίων γῆν ἐχώρουν διὰ τῆς
 Φυτίας καὶ αὐθις Μεδεῶνος παρ' ἔσχατα, ἔπειτα διὰ Λιμναίας
 καὶ ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνανίας, φίλιας δὲ
 3 σφίσιν. λαβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυνάμου ὄρους, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἀγραϊκόν,
 ἐχώρουν δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀργεῖαν νυκτὸς 25
 ἤδη, καὶ διεξελθόντες μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ
 τῆς ἐπὶ Κρήναις Ἀκαρνάνων φυλακῆς ἔλαθον καὶ προσ-
 107 ἔμειζαν τοῖς ἐν Ὀλπαῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόοι
 ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητρόπολιν καλουμένην
 καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν 30
 οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον παραγίγνονται ἐς τὸν Ἀμπρακικὸν κόλπον
 βοηθοῦντες τοῖς Ἀργείοις, καὶ Δημοσθένης Μεσσηνίων μὲν

24 Ἀγραϊκόν O. Müller : ἀγροῖκον codd.

31 κόλπον om. A B E F M

ἔχων διακοσίους ὀπλίτας, ἐξήκοντα δὲ τοξότας Ἀθηναίων.
καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας τὸν λόφον ἐκ θαλάσσης 2
ἐφώρμουν· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων ὀλίγοι (οἱ γὰρ
πλείους ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν βιά κατείχοντο) ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἦδη
5 ξυνεληλυθότες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μαχομένοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντὸς ξυμμαχικοῦ αἰροῦνται Δημοσθένη
μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς 3
τῆς Ὀλπης ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, χαράδρα δ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλην
διείργεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν πέντε ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δ' ἕκτη
10 ἐτάσσοντο ἀμφοτέροι ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ (μείζον γὰρ ἐγένετο
καὶ περιέσχε τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδον) ὁ
Δημοσθένης δείσας μὴ κυκλωθῇ λοχίζει ἐς ὁδόν τινα κοίλην
καὶ λοχμῶδη ὀπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφοτέρους ἐς τετρα-
κοσίους, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ξυνόδῳ
15 αὐτῇ ἐξαναστάντες οὗτοι κατὰ νώτου γίνωνται. ἐπεὶ δὲ 4
παρασκευάστο ἀμφοτέροις, ᾗσαν ἐς χεῖρας, Δημοσθένης μὲν
τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μετὰ Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὀλί-
γων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀκαρνᾶνες ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἐπείχον,
καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων οἱ παρόντες ἀκουτισταί, Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ
20 καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀναμῖξ τεταγμένοι πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι
δὲ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ τὸ κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες
ἀθρόοι ᾗσαν, ἀλλ' Εὐρύλοχος ἔσχατον εἶχε τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ
οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Δημοσθένη. ὡς δ' ἐν 108
χερσὶν ἦδη ὄντες περιέσχον τῷ κέρασιν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ
25 ἐκυκλοῦντο τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Ἀκαρ-
νᾶνες ἐπιγενόμενοι αὐτοῖς κατὰ νώτου προσπίπτουσιν τε καὶ
τρέπουσιν, ὥστε μῆτε ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομέμναι φοβηθέντας τε ἐς
φυγὴν καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστήσαι· ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ εἶδον τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον καὶ δὲ κράτιστον ἦν διαφθειρό-
30 μενον, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ὄντες
ταύτῃ μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπεξῆλθον.

2 τὸν λόφον secl. Herwerden
31 ἐξῆλθον A B F: διεξῆλθον M

15 γῶτον A B E F M suprascr. G

- 2 οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐνίκων τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος ἀπέδιωξαν· καὶ γὰρ μαχιμώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.
- 3 ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ ὡς ἑώρων τὸ πλεόν νενικημένον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀκαρνᾶνες σφίσι προσέκειντο, χαλεπῶς διεσφύζοντο 5 ἐς τὰς Ὀλπας, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, ἀτάκτως καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ προσπίπτοντες πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι δὲ μάλιστα ξυντεταγμένοι παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς ὄψε.
- 109 Μενεδαῖος δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Εὐρυλόχου τεθνεώτος καὶ Μα- 10 καρίου αὐτὸς παρειληφὼς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπορῶν μεγάλης ἥσσης γεγεννημένης ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἡ μένων πολιορκήσεται ἕκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀποκεκλημένος ἡ καὶ ἀναχωρῶν διασωθήσεται, προσφέρει λόγον περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάνων 15 2 στρατηγοῖς, καὶ περὶ νεκρῶν ἅμα ἀναιρέσεως. οἱ δὲ νεκροὺς μὲν ἀπέδωσαν καὶ τροπαῖον αὐτοῖς ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν τριακοσίους μάλιστα ἀποθανόντας ἀνείλυντο, ἀναχώρησιν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐσπέισαντο ἅπασι, κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατῆγων Ἀκαρνάνων σπένδονται 20 Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Μενεδαῖῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀξιολογώτατοι ἀποχωρεῖν κατὰ τάχος, βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τε καὶ τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον [τὸν ξενικόν], μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη 25 χρήζων Ἕλληνας ὡς καταπροδόντες τὸ ἑαυτῶν προυργιαλ- 3 τερον ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ἀνείλυντο καὶ διὰ τάχους ἔθαπτον, ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν 110 κρύφα οἷς ἐδέδοτο ἐπεβούλευον· τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσι ἀγγέλλεται τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεῖ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐκ τῶν Ὀλπῶν ἀγγε-

λίαν ἐπιβοηθεῖν διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων, βουλομένους τοῖς ἐν
 Ὀλπαῖς ξυμμεῖξαι, εἰδότας οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων. καὶ 2
 πέμπει εὐθὺς τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος τι τὰς ὁδοὺς προλοχιούντας
 καὶ τὰ καρτερὰ προκαταληψομένους, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ
 5 ἅμα παρεσκευάζετο βοηθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ III
 Μαντιωῆς καὶ οἷς ἔσπειστο πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ
 φρυγάνων ξυλλογὴν ἐξελθόντες ὑπαπήσαν κατ' ὀλίγους,
 ἅμα ξυλλέγοντες ἐφ' ἃ ἐξήλθον δῆθεν· προκεχωρηκότες
 δὲ ἤδη ἄπωθεν τῆς Ὀλπης θάσσουν ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δ' 2
 10 Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ἤμην ἐτόγγαρον οὕτως ἃ
 ἄθροοι ξυνεξελθόντες, ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ὥρμησαν καὶ
 αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, ἐπικαταλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ 3
 Ἀκαρνᾶνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἀπιέναι
 ἀσπόνδους ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐπεδίωκον, καὶ
 15 τινὰς αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν κωλύοντας καὶ φάσκοντας
 ἐσπεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἠκόντισέ τις, νομίσας καταπροδίδοσθαι
 σφᾶς· ἔπειτα μέντοι τοὺς μὲν Μαντιωῆας καὶ τοὺς Πελο-
 20 ποννησίους ἀφίεσαν, τοὺς δ' Ἀμπρακιώτας ἔκτεινον. καὶ ἦν 4
 πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστὶν εἴτε Πελο-
 20 ποννήσιος. καὶ ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ
 δ' ἄλλοι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀγραῖδα ὁμορον οὔσαν, καὶ Σαλύν-
 θιος αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀγραίων φίλος ὢν ὑπεδέξατο.
 Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπ' Ἴδο· II2
 μενῆν. ἐστὸν δὲ δύο λόφῳ ἡ Ἰδομενὴ ὑψηλῷ· τούτῳ τὸν
 25 μὲν μείζω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης οἱ προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Δημοσθένους ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλαθον τε καὶ ἔφθασαν
 προκαταλαβόντες, τὸν δ' ἐλάσσω ἔτυχον οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται
 προαναβάντες καὶ ἠύλisanτο. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης δειπνήσας 2
 30 ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας εὐθύς, αὐτὸς
 30 μὲν τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο διὰ τῶν
 Ἀμφιλοχικῶν ὁρῶν. καὶ ἅμα ὀρθρῳ ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς Ἀμπρα- 3

10 μὲν] μένοντες Stahl: μὴ Hude οὕτως] τούτοις Herwerden
 11 ξυνελθόντες A B E F 27 ante τὸν add. ἐς Krüger

κιώταις ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς καὶ οὐ προρησθημένοις τὰ γέγενη-
 4 μένα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον νομίσασι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εἶναι· καὶ
 γὰρ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους πρώτους ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης
 προὔταξε καὶ προσαγορεύει ἐκέλευε, Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν
 ἰέντας καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι πίστω παρεχομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ 5
 5 οὐ καθορωμένους τῇ ὄψει νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης. ὥς οὖν ἐπέπεσε
 τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτῶν, τρέπονσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ
 διέφθειραν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.
 6 προκατελιγμένων δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ ἅμα τῶν μὲν Ἀμφιλό-
 χων ἐμπίρων ὄντων τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς καὶ ψιλῶν πρὸς ὀπλίτας, 10
 τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ὅπη τράπωνται, ἐσπί-
 πτοντες ἕς τε χαράδρας καὶ τὰς προλελοχισμένας ἐνέδρας
 7 διεφθείροντο. καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν χωρήσαντες τῆς φυγῆς
 ἐτράποντό τιμες καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσιν,
 καὶ ὥς εἶδον τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς παραπλευούσας ἅμα τοῦ 15
 ἔργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, προσένευσαν, ἡγησάμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα
 φόβῳ κρεῖσσον εἶναι σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, εἰ δεῖ,
 διαφθαρῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐχθίστων Ἀμφιλό-
 8 χων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀμπρακιῶται τοιοῦτ' ἄντρον τρόπον κακωθέντες
 ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν· Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ 20
 σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τροπαῖα στήσαντες ἀπεχώ-
 113 ρησαν ἐς Ἄργος. καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἦλθε κῆρυξ ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἐς Ἀγραίους καταφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ὀλπης Ἀμπρα-
 κιωτῶν, ἀναίρεσιν αἰτήσων τῶν νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν
 ὕστερον τῆς πρώτης μάχης, ὅτε μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ 25
 2 τῶν ὑποσπόνδων ξυνεξῆσαν ἄσπονδοι. ἰδὼν δ' ὁ κῆρυξ
 τὰ ὄπλα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐθαύμαζε τὸ
 πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ᾤετο τῶν μετὰ σφῶν
 3 εἶναι. καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅτι θαυμάζοι καὶ ὅπόσοι αὐτῶν
 τεθνῶσιν, οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶναι τὸν κῆρυκα ἀπὸ τῶν 30
 ἐν Ἰδομεναῖς. ὁ δ' ἔφη διακοσίους μάλιστα. ὑπολαβὼν
 4 δ' ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶπεν· οὐκ οὐκ τὰ ὄπλα ταυτὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ

πλέον ἢ χιλίων.’ αὖθις δὲ εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος ‘οὐκ ἄρα τῶν
 μεθ’ ἡμῶν μαχομένων ἐστίν.’ ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο ‘εἴπερ γε
 ὑμεῖς ἐν Ἰδομευῇ χθὲς ἐμάχεσθε.’ ‘ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς γε οὐδενὶ
 ἐμαχόμεθα χθές, ἀλλὰ πρόφην ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει.’ ‘καὶ
 5 μὲν δὴ τούτοις γε ἡμεῖς χθὲς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοηθήσασι
 τῆς Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐμαχόμεθα.’ ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ ὥς ἤκουσε καὶ 5
 ἔγνω ὅτι ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως βοήθεια διέφθαρται, ἀνοιμώζας
 καὶ ἐκπλαγείς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπῆλθεν
 εὐθὺς ἀπρακτος καὶ οὐκέτι ἀπῆγει τοὺς νεκρούς. πάθος γὰρ 6
 10 τοῦτο μὲν πόλει Ἑλληνίδι ἐν ἴσαις ἡμέραις μέγιστον δὴ
 τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ
 ἔγραψα τῶν ἀποθανόντων, διότι ἀπιστον τὸ πλῆθος λέγεται
 ἀπολέσθαι ὥς πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως. Ἀμπρακίαν
 μέντοι οἶδα ὅτι, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι
 15 Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δημοσθένει πειθόμενοι ἐξελεῖν, αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν
 εἶλον· νῦν δ’ ἔδεισαν μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντες αὐτὴν χαλε-
 πώτεροι σφίσι πάροικοι ᾧσιν.
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρίτον μέρος νείμαντες τῶν σκύλων τοῖς 114
 Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰς πόλεις διείλυντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν
 20 τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλέοντα ἐάλω, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνακείμενα ἐν τοῖς
 Ἀττικοῖς ἱεροῖς Δημοσθένει ἐξηρέθησαν τριακόσιαι παν-
 οπλῖαι, καὶ ἄγων αὐτὰς κατέπλευσεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα αὐτῷ
 μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ξυμφορὰν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως
 ἀδεεστέρα ἢ κάθοδος. ἀπῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς εἴκοσι 2
 25 ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Ναύπακτον. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀμφί-
 λοχοι ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους τοῖς ὥς
 Σαλύνθιον καὶ Ἀγραίους καταφυγοῦσιν Ἀμπρακιώταις καὶ
 Πελοποννησίοις ἀναχώρησιν ἐσπέισαντο ἐξ Οἰνιάδων, οἵπερ
 καὶ μετανέστησαν παρὰ Σαλυνθίου. καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον 3
 30 σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν ἔτη Ἀκαρνᾶνες
 καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι πρὸς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ὥστε μήτε

15 ἐξελεῖν] ἐπελθεῖν E
 G. Hermann: οἵπερ codd.

23 ἐκ om. AB FM [G] 28 οἵπερ
 29 Σαλυνθίου G. Hermann: Σαλύνθιον
 codd.

- Ἀμπρακιώτας μετὰ Ἀκαρνάνων στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννη-
σίους μήτε Ἀκαρνᾶνας μετὰ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους,
βοηθεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὅποσα
ἢ χωρία ἢ ὁμήρους Ἀμφιλόχων ἔχουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόριον
4 μὴ βοηθεῖν πολέμιον ὃν Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. ταῦτα ξυνθέμενοι 5
διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κορίνθιοι φυλακὴν
ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς τριακοσίους ὀπλί-
τας καὶ Ξενοκλείδαν τὸν Εὐθυκλέους ἄρχοντα· οἱ κομιζόμενοι
χαλεπῶς διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀφίκοιντο. τὰ μὲν κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν
οὕτως ἐγένετο. 10
- 115 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἔς τε
τὴν Ἱμεραίαν ἀπόβασιν ἐποιήσαντο ἐκ τῶν νεῶν μετὰ τῶν
Σικελῶν τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς
2 Ἱμεράας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους ἔπλευσαν. ἀναχωρή-
σαντες δὲ ἐς Ῥήγιον Πυθόδωρον τὸν Ἰσολόχον Ἀθηναίων 15
στρατηγὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διᾶδοχον ὃν ὁ
3 Λάχης ἦρχεν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ξύμμαχοι πλεύσαντες
ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν σφίσι πλείοσι ναυσίν· τῆς
μὲν γὰρ γῆς αὐτῶν οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκράτουν, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης
ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν εἰργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ναυτικὸν ξυναγεί- 20
4 ροντες ὥς οὐ περιοψόμενοι. καὶ ἐπλήρουν ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς ἀποστελοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἅμα μὲν ἡγούμενοι
θᾶσσον τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον καταλυθήσεσθαι, ἅμα δὲ βουλό-
5 μενοι μελέτην τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕνα τῶν
στρατηγῶν ἀπέστειλαν Πυθόδωρον ὀλίγαις ναυσὶ, Σοφοκλέα 25
δὲ τὸν Σωστρατίδου καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους ἐπὶ τῶν
6 πλείονων νεῶν ἀποπέμφειν ἐμελλον. ὁ δὲ Πυθόδωρος ἤδη
ἔχων τὴν τοῦ Λάχης τῶν νεῶν ἀρχὴν ἔπλευσε τελευτῶντος
τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Λοκρῶν φρούριον ὃ πρότερον Λάχης εἴλε,
καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἀπεχώρησεν. 30
- 116 Ἐρρῦν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ

4 ὁμήρους Poppo: ὁμόρους codd.
Σικελιωτῶν codd.

13 Σικελῶν τῶν Dobree:
30 ἀνεχώρησεν A B M

τῆς Αἴτνης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ γῆν τινα ἔφθειρε τῶν
 Καταναίων, οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Αἴτνῃ τῷ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν
 ἔστιν ὄρος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ῥῆναι 2
 τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ῥεῦμα, τὸ δὲ ζύμπαν τρις γεγενῆσθαι
 5 τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφ' οὗ Σικελία ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν 3
 κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐγένετο, καὶ ἕκτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ
 ἐτελεύτα τῷδε δὲ Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

1 post καὶ add. τὸ A B E F M [G] 2 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ A B E F M In
 fine libri tertii τῶν εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς εἰς ἀρχὴ τῆς εἰς C

BOOK III

CHAPS. I-25. *Fourth year of the War.*

I *Third invasion of Attica.*

I ἔμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι. Thucydides, in his desire for precision, has invented a system, more reliable than the old calendars, founded on the seasons. The summer contains eight months, and it is the season for military operations. The winter four months are a period of rest. The summer is subdivided into (1) ἔμα ἤρι ἀρχομένης, (2) τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος, (3) περὶ σίτου ἐκβολήν (when the corn was in the ear), (4) τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, (5) τρύγητος (the vintage), (6) ὁπώρα, φθινόπωρον (the last fine days of autumn).

2 ἐγκαθεζόμενοι, 'pitching their camp there.'

ὅπῃ παρείκοι, 'wherever it was practicable.' Cf. 4. 36. 2 κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρείκον.

εἶργον τὸ μὴ . . . κακουργεῖν. τὸ μὴ κακουργεῖν stands as an object clause to εἶργον. It is the accusative of the verb noun. Cf. 6. 1. 2 διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἡπειρος οὔσα where some would read εἶναι for οὔσα. In CG διὰ is found after εἶργον and διὰ τὸ is suspected as a corruption of δι' αὐτό.

τῶν ὁπλων, 'the camp.'

3 οὐ . . . τὰ στήθια. So we have in I. 48. I τριῶν ἡμερῶν στήθια.

2 *Revolt of Lesbos which takes place prematurely owing to the discovery of the design by the Athenians.*

I Lesbos, like Chios, was on an equal footing of alliance with Athens. It remained on the original conditions of the Delian confederacy. Mytilene retained its walls, its navy, and its oligarchical government. In case of war it was bound to furnish armed ships. This revolt was planned with the utmost deliberation, as is related in this chapter, and it was the more exasperating to

the Athenians since, as far as we know, it was justified by no excuse, except that of ambition.

οὐ προσεδίξαντο, 'had not received their proposals.'

καὶ ταύτην, 'when they actually *did* revolt.'

- 2 τῶν λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν. The entrance of the harbour would be narrowed by a mole till it was sufficiently narrow to be closed, when necessary, by a chain.

τελεσθῆναι. What is usually termed the epexegetic infinitive, 'they waited for the closing of the harbour . . . for it to be completed.' The Greek infinitive was originally the dative of an abstract noun, and hence it expresses an action *to* which that of the governing verb is directed, as here it expresses the purpose of their waiting.

ἃ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν, 'which they were engaged in sending for.'

- 3 κατὰ στάσιν, 'out of party spirit.'

ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίαι, 'are forcing Lesbos to become incorporated with Mytilene.' They endeavoured to compel the towns of Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha to merge their own separate governments in the government of Mytilene.

προκαταλήψεται. Used absolutely.

ἤδη, 'at once.'

- 3 *The Athenians sent a fleet in the hope of surprising Mytilene at the feast of Apollo Maloeis. Their design is frustrated.*

- 1 ἔρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος. It is incredible that καθισταμένου can here mean 'in its infancy': 'just beginning' and 'at its height' (ἀκμάζοντος) are contradictory. Translate 'as the war was just in its middle stage'; cf. 2. 36. 3 καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία, 'the settled or middle time of life.' Thucydides is referring to the first part of the war, i. e. the ten years' war which he probably wrote first, and, as applied to the fourth year, the word is appropriate enough.

προσπολεμῶσασθαι, 'to make a new enemy.'

μείζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι, 'assigning too much weight or consideration to the wish that it was not true.' In their enfeebled condition the Athenians felt unable to attack so powerful an island.

- 3 Μαλόμεντος. Various interpretations have been given of this name. It probably means 'Apollo of Malea.' Cf. 3. 4. 5.

καὶ ἔλπιδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπσεῖν ἄφνω, 'and if they hurried there was hope of surprising them.' Words of promising, hoping, and the like are followed not only by a future but even a present and aorist infinitive. It was doubtless felt in such cases that the future reference was sufficiently indicated by the *meaning* of the governing verb.

ἦν μὲν ξυμβῆ ἡ πείρα. After these words there is a familiar aposiopesis. We should supply εὖ ἔξειν.

εἰπεῖν depends upon the verb of ordering implied in πέμπουσιν. καθελεῖν upon εἰπεῖν, which here has a sense of ordering. But this meaning passes into εἰπεῖν from the infinitive which depends upon it. They were to speak to the Mytilenaeans to the end that they should pull down their walls. Cf. 3. 2. 2, note on τελεσθῆναι.

- 4 τὰς τῶν Μυτιληναίων δέκα τριήρεις. Mytilene in case of war was obliged to furnish armed ships to Athens. These ships were now seized, and the crews placed under guard.

- 5 πλῶ χρησάμενος means 'having found fair weather,' i. e. sailing weather, as opposed to being obliged to row, which by an oxymoron was called δεύτερος πλοῦς. Cf. I. 137. 2 τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὼς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται.

οἱ δὲ οὔτε . . . τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν . . . ἐφύλασσον. οὔτε . . . τε, 'not . . . but.' τὰ ἄλλα is an adverbial accusative qualifying ἐφύλασσον, 'but generally they kept watch about the unfinished works of the walls and harbours, having barricaded them.' φαρξάμενοι may be taken absolutely or with αὐτά supplied. Or we might write περί and make τὰ ἄλλα the direct object of ἐφύλασσον. τὰ ἄλλα is explained by the words τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων περί, 'all else—I mean what concerned the walls and harbours they guarded, having barricaded the unfinished works.' The second interpretation is favoured by the position of the words.

- 4 *An Athenian fleet arrives at Mytilene. The inhabitants make a truce on the pretext that they wish to send ambassadors to Athens to explain their proceedings, but really to gain time to send for help to Sparta.*

- I καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὥς ἔωρων. Note that although the subject precedes the conjunction ὥς, it does not belong to the verb of the principal sentence. This is rare.

2 ἥδη, 'in their extremity.'

4 τῶν διαβαλλόντων ἵνα. One of the citizens of Mytilene who had sent to betray their designs to Athens, but had since changed his mind.

πίμπουσιν . . . εἰ πως πείσειαν. This is the so-called final use of εἰ. We may translate 'they sent in the hope that they should persuade,' or 'they sent in the supposition that they should persuade,' as we incline to the theory that the particle εἰ expressed originally a hope or a supposition. But the origin of εἰ is really unknown.

ὡς σφῶν οὐδὲν νεωτεριούντων, 'on the assurance that they will not revolt.' νεωτερίζειν, "to act with novelty" is used by litotes for all kinds of violent or revolutionary actions on the part of individuals or states.' Forbes.

5 ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν. There was another Malea seven miles distant, the most southern promontory of Lesbos. Had Thucydides remembered that, he would have written ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ τῇ πρὸς βορέαν. The Malea of the south is called Malia by Strabo and Mania by Ptolemaeus.

τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, 'in what they expected from the Athenians.' With προχωρήσειν we must supply αὐτά.

λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν. This was possible owing to the situation of Mytilene, which was built partly on the mainland, partly on a little island divided from the mainland by a narrow channel. It had thus two harbours, one north, one south of the town. The Athenians were anchored off the north harbour leaving the south, for the present, unguarded.

6 τάλαιπῶρος. A rare word in Attic, occurring nowhere else in Thucydides, who however has ἀταλαιπώρος.

αὐτοῖς, 'the Mytilenaeans.'

5 *The ambassadors return from Athens. Hostilities are resumed. The Athenians are reinforced from Methymna, Imbros, and Lemnos. After an engagement, in which they gained an advantage, the Mytilenaeans retire and wait for help. On the advice of envoys from Sparta and Thebes they send an embassy to Sparta.*

2 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου . . . κινδυνεύειν. Thucydides has allowed the sentence to develop rather in the order of his thought than in accordance with grammatical arrangement or the convenience of the reader. ἐκ Πελοποννήσου must be taken with εἰ προσγένειτό τι, and

μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς with κινδυνεύειν. A more grammatical writer would have said μετὰ τῆς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ ἄλλης προσγενησομένης παρασκευῆς κινδυνεύειν. As the words stand εἰ προσγένετο must be taken twice, 'wishing to risk a battle if any forces joined them from the Peloponnese, and with other forces if any joined them.' Other, that is, than those from the Peloponnese. Why they should expect help both from the Peloponnese and elsewhere is explained in the next sentence. For a similar 'cross construction' see 3. 10. 5 ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' ἐν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυψηφίαν ἀμύνασθαι.

6 *The Athenians take advantage of the inaction of the Mytilenaeans to blockade both harbours and shut them off from the sea.*

- 1 πολὺ θάσσον, i.e. than if the Lesbians had given signs of effective strength.

περιορμίσμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως, 'having come to anchor about the southern side of the city.' In 4. 23. 2 we have περιώρμουν πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος which parallels the accusative here, and gives some colour to the reading of a good many MSS. περιορμίσμενοι. However the middle of this verb is not elsewhere found, and the reading of the text gives excellent sense. The Athenians were originally encamped on the north side. Leaving some ships there they now surrounded the south side also: a step they should have taken before.

- 2 μὴ χρῆσθαι, the so-called epexegetical infinitive 'they kept the Mytilenaeans from the sea that they should not use it.'

ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον . . . ἢ Μαλία. ἀγορᾶς is the reading of the MSS. 'Malea, rather than the southern position, was the station for their ships and provisions.' For ἀγορᾶς we have to understand some appropriate word from ναύσταθμον by a rather harsh zeugma. Hence the correction ἀγορά.

7 *At the request of the Acarnanians Asopius, the son of Phormio, is sent with a naval squadron to their seas, and with them makes an unsuccessful attempt on Oeniadae. He was afterwards killed in attempting a disembarkation on the territory of Leucas.*

Note that this is the last mention of Phormio in the history.

- 3 ἀναστήσας, he 'raised them' to join the expedition.

4 μέρος τι, 'a considerable portion.'

φρουρῶν τινῶν. A Peloponnesian garrison, perhaps Corinthians.

5 ἀποπλεύσαντες. After sailing a short distance from the island.

8 *The Mytilenaeen ambassadors come to Olympia at the bidding of the Spartans to lay their request before all the assembled members of the league.*

1 οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι, 'the other members of the league.'

τὸ δεύτερον. The internal accusative qualifying ἐνίκα adverbially. Of such accusatives the cognate accusative is an extension.

9 *The Mytilenaeans apologize for revolting from Athens, a power which had honoured them in peace. The separation is due to incompatibility of policy and sympathies,*

1 καθ' ὅσον . . . ἡγοῦνται, 'have joy in them so far as they profit by them, but as counting them traitors to their former friends esteem them meanly.'

2 καί, 'and in fact.'

οὐκ ἄδικος . . . ἐστίν, εἰ τύχοιεν. An apparent irregularity. But really οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσις ἐστίν is equivalent to οὐκ ἂν ἀδίκως ταῦτα ἀξιῶσαιαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. We might use the same form of expression to convey the same meaning in English, 'and not unjust is this feeling should those who revolt and those from whom they separate be one in policy and sympathy.' Similarly in 3. 10. 1 βέβαιον γιγνομένην . . . εἰ μὴ . . . γίγνοιτο where βέβαιον γιγνομένην is virtually equivalent to 'would last.'

τῇ παρασκευῇ, 'in forces.' πρόσφασίς τε, the so-called postscript τε 'and thirdly.'

δ, as often, is adversative, 'but these conditions.'

3 εἰ, equivalent to ὅτι after what is virtually a verb of indignation.

10 *and can be justified by the behaviour of the Athenians. They became leaders of a confederacy because the Lacedaemonians deserted before the final close of the Persian war, and for a time their supremacy was just. Soon they began to enslave their allies, and we feared our own time would come. We learnt wisdom from their treatment of the others.*

1 ἀρετῆς, 'probity.'

εἰδότες οὔτε φίλαν . . . εἶεν. ἰδιῶται καὶ πόλεις are subjects both of

γίγνουντο and εἶεν. γίγνουντο, 'show themselves,' 'behave.' Cf. 3. 42. 1 ὃν τὸ μὲν μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι 'of which the one usually shows itself?' Some interpret 1. 37. 3 κατὰ ξυνηθείας γίγνεσθαι, 'to behave in accordance with the treaty.' Translate 'knowing that no' friendship between individuals is permanent and no league between cities, unless the parties comport themselves with probity mutually apparent and are similar in general character.' See note on 3. 9. 2.

ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι... καθίστανται, 'for by the diversity in men's minds difference in their conduct is caused.' καθίστανται 'come out.' Thucydides is fond of using neuter participles to express an abstract idea as concretely as possible. They express action not considered generally, but as manifested on some particular occasion. Cf. 1. 36. 1 γνῶτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ... μᾶλλον φοβήσων, where the participle indicates fear on that particular occasion as opposed to τὸ δεδιέναι, 'fear in general.'

- 2 ἀπολιπόντων μὲν ὑμῶν... ἔργων. The story of the origin of the Athenian Hegemony is told in 1. 95. It appears there that the behaviour of Pausanias became intolerable to the Ionians and islanders, and that they came to the Athenians and besought them to become their Hegemones. After the recall of Pausanias the Spartans sent no more generals for fear that they too should become demoralized, and because they were tired of the whole war. Spartan foreign policy was always selfish.
- 3 Ἀθηναίοις... Ἑλλήσιν. Both datives play a double part, as is seen by the position of the words, although grammatically they both depend on ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα. 'We became allies not for the Athenians for enslaving the Greeks to them, but for the Greeks for delivering them,' i. e. we joined the Athenian alliance not to enslave the Hellenes to the Athenians, but for the benefit of the Hellenes to deliver them from the Persian.
- 4 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, 'as equals over equals.'
ἐπαγομένους. Must mean 'bringing in for their own profit the policy of enslaving the allies,' but the sense is not very good, and there is plausibility in the conjecture ἐπειγομένους, 'eagerly pursuing.'
- 5 ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες... ἀμύνασθαι. πολυψηφία, 'diversity of vote.' διὰ πολυψηφίαν really belongs to ἀδύνατοι ὄντες, but it is characteristic of the writer to separate by position words united in sense. Here

the trajection is due to the desire to bring out the contrast between *καθ' ἐν γενομένοι* and *διὰ πολυψηφίαν*. Translate 'being unable to unite and defend themselves owing to the multitude of conflicting 'voices.' Cf. note on 3. 5. 2.

αὐτόνομοι δῆ. δῆ is ironical.

6 *πιστοῦς*, 'in whom we could trust.'

οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν . . . μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο, 'for it was unlikely that after subduing those whom with us they had taken into league, they would have spared to treat us the survivors in the same way, if they had ever gained the power.' The reference is to the past throughout, and *εἰ ἐδυνήθησαν* is sound. The Lesbians had seen other members of the league enslaved. They could only suppose that they would have been treated in the same way if the Athenians had ever gained the power to treat them so. We might expect *μὴ ἂν δρᾶσαι*, but we find infinitives which depend on words of obligation, propriety, or possibility like *ἔδει*, *χρῆν*, *εἰκὸς ἦν*, expressing a potentiality without *ἂν*.

II *It is our exceptional position as equals of Athens that makes us most afraid. We were left independent to justify Athenian aggressions, and that they might use our strength against the weakness of the others. And they feared our fleet lest it should join some other power and attack them. We too were politic, and made interest with their leading men.*

I *βεβαιότεροι ἂν . . . νεωτεριεῖν*. The personal for the impersonal construction, common in Greek, especially in phrases where *δίκαιος* occurs. Translate 'we should have felt more confident that they would make no change towards us.'

χαλεπώτερον . . . ἀντισουμένον. An object to *οὔσειν* must be supplied out of the words *ἡμῖν ὁμιλοῦντες*, 'this equality.' *καί* is used, as often with numerals, to emphasize *τὸ πλεόν*, 'so much as,' 'actually.' *τοῦ ἡμετέρου*, gen. abs. *πρός*, 'in comparison with.' Translate 'they were likely to be more exasperated at this equality, since we, although quite the greater part were now yielding, alone remained their equals.' The rhetorical exaggeration of *μόνου* (the Chians too remained free), and the rarity of *ἀντισουμένον*, which like some other Thucydidean words occurs again only in late writers, are insufficient grounds for suspecting corruption.

ὅσῳ=τοσοῦτῳ ὅσον (by attraction ὅσῳ), 'in proportion as.'

- 2 τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον . . . ξυμμαχίαν, 'an equality of mutual fear is the only sure guarantee of an alliance.' Somewhat inconsistent with this is the beginning of chapter 12, where the speaker complains that their alliance was cemented by fear while other alliances rested on good-will. But few speakers are afraid of inconsistency when they wish to make a particular point.

τῷ μὴ προύχων . . . ἀποτρέπεται, 'is deterred by the feeling that he would make his attack at a disadvantage.'

- 3 αὐτόνομοί τε. τε introduces the third reason of the insecurity of the present position of the Mytilenaeans.

ὅσον=καθ' ὅσον, 'so far as.'

εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, 'to win empire,' is a further definition of τὰ πράγματα καταληπτά, which it repeats with an addition. Translate 'and we were left independent for no other reason save in so far as they thought that success must be gained for winning empire by fair words and the assaults of diplomacy rather than of force.'

- 4 ἅμα μὲν γὰρ . . . ξυστρατεύειν. This sentence is usually explained by an ellipse. 'They used us as evidence that those who, like ourselves, had equal votes would not have taken the field with them against our will (and so would not have aided them at all) unless those they were attacking had been in the wrong,' and in support of this is quoted Dem. 54. 32 οὐδέποτε' ἂν . . . τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρεῖν ἠθέλησαν εἰ μὴ ταῦθ' ἑώρων πεπονθότα, 'they would never have given false witness, nor consented to say what they do say, unless they had seen.' The scholiast is so puzzled that he emends to ἐκόντας. But ἄκοντας=εἰ μὴ ἠθελον, and runs co-ordinately with εἰ μὴ τι ἠδίκουν, which explains and justifies εἰ μὴ ἠθελον, 'would not have taken the field with them unless they had been willing to do so, unless, that is to say, those they were attacking had been in the wrong.' We have an analogous phrase in 3. 43. 3 μίνην τε πόλιν διὰ τὰς περινοίας εὖ ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς μὴ ἐξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον. [Mr. Forbes suggests that the clause μὴ ἂν τοὺς γε is not *the fact to which evidence is borne* but the argument which constitutes the evidence to the honesty of the Athenians, 'they used as evidence in their favour the argument that.' This consorts better with the meaning of μαρτύριον, which is 'a deposition' rather than 'a witness.']

μή. In indirect discourse the ordinary negative is οὐ, but there is a tendency in Greek to resort to the form of prohibition to express strong or passionate or solemn denial. Hence μή here. ἀμα μὲν is answered by ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ.

τὰ κράτιστα = τοὺς κρατίστους. It is also the object of λιπόντες.

τὰ τελευταῖα λιπόντες, 'leaving us to the last.' Notice the article used in the predicate. Cf. 3. 85. Ἰ τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο. 3. 23. 3 οἱ . . . οἱ τελευταῖοι καταβαίνοντες.

τοῦ ἄλλου. The collective singular.

5 ἐχόντων ἔτι . . . στήναι, 'while all had still strength in themselves and a rallying-point in us.'

6 τό τε ναυτικόν. τε, 'and thirdly.'

προσθίμενον is redundant after καθ' ἐν γεγόμενον with which it is identical in meaning.

7 τὰ δέ, an adverbial accusative to be taken with περιεγυγνόμεθα, 'and to a certain degree also we escaped by.'

8 οὐ μέντοι . . . ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους. ἄν, which goes with δυνηθῆναι, is often thus separated from its own verb by such verbs as δοκῶ, οἶμαι, οἶδα, &c. It is rare to find an infinitive with ἄν, equivalent to a past tense of the indicative with ἄν, after anything but a present tense, which has led one editor to conjecture δοκοῦμεν here. But cf. 8. 2. Ἰ ἐπληρμένοι ἦσαν . . . νομίσαντες κἂν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατώρθωσαν. . . ἐδοκοῦμεν, 'we thought.' Translate 'it seemed to us, taught by their treatment of the other allies, that we could not have held out for long if this war had not broken out.'

12 *Our alliance was one of fear not of friendship. We must not be blamed for taking the initiative. The power of attack always lay with the Athenians. It was only fair that we should take measures of precaution.*

1 τίς οὖν αὕτη . . . πιστή. Most MSS. show ἡ, but if that is retained the position of πιστή is indefensible. But one MS. has ἦ, which is clearly required by the sense.

τίς = qualis. 'What sort of either sure friendship or sure freedom was this?' i.e. by what right could this be called sure—be it friendship or freedom?

παρὰ γνώμην, 'contrary to our real inclinations.'

ὑπεδεχόμεθα. The regular word for the admission of strangers who

come into an alien state, and have commerce with it. Cf. Plato's Laws, 952 E ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσιν ὑποδέχεσθαι. Here of mutual intercourse between states united in peace and friendship.

καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμᾶς. An obvious rejoinder to this argument would have been to ask why Athens had not employed the fourteen years' truce to crush the Mytilenaeans when her hands were free. But much of the argument is disingenuous, though the substantial grievance of the despotism of Athens was real enough.

ὁ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις . . . παρέιχε. ὁ is usually explained as an adverbial accusative, 'and whereas,' but this construction lacks authority. It is more likely that Thucydides, from his desire of compression, has joined together two sentences, leaving the combination ungrammatical. He probably had in his mind ὁ τε μάλιστα εὖνοια ποιεῖ, πίστιν βεβαίῳ, 'and that which good-will effects, viz. secures confidence.' Cf. 6. 33. 6 ὅπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοὶ οὗτοι τοῦ Μήδου παρὰ λόγον πολλὰ σφαλέντος . . . ἠξήθησαν. In 2. 40. 3 ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, the ὁ is left without construction by an anacoluthon caused by a desire for a sharp antithesis. Cf. 4. 125. 1 ὅπερ φιλεῖ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἀσφαλῶς ἐκπλήγνυσθαι. Translate 'and what in other cases is commonly effected by mutual good-will, which secures confidence, that in our case was assured by fear.'

καὶ παραβήσεσθαι. Καί introduces their consequent action 'accordingly' 'so.'

- 2 μέλλουσιν, in this transitive sense, does not seem to occur again.
- 3 εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ . . . προαμύνασθαι. The MSS. show ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι which is perhaps a nonce-word invented by Thucydides himself in imitation of ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι. The correction adopted in the text ἀντιμελλῆσαι is equally unknown elsewhere. The rest of the sentence will translate as it stands (α) 'Had we been equally able to plot as they do and to defer our attack, what need was there for us to be subject to their discretion as we are?' or (β) supplying ὄντας with ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, 'What need for us to be subject to their discretion if we are their equals? but since the power of attack is always in their hands, we too should have the right to take precautions for defence'; i. e. there would have been no reason for us to remain, as we are, in subjection to them, if we had been able to meet their intrigues, &c., with intrigues of our own. Our present position of

inferiority shows that we were unable to do this. But at any rate we should be allowed the right to take precautionary measures against those who always have the power of attack in their hands. One editor translates ἀντιμελλῆσαι, 'to meet threats with threats.' (c) In sentences of this kind in Thucydides we expect the two divisions of the sentence to stand in some logical connexion, but in this sentence the connexion between the first part and the second is not quite clear. It has been conjectured that Thucydides wrote καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἵεναι, 'then it would have been right for us, equally with them, to defer making our attack upon them.' With that sense the second half of the sentence coincides admirably.

- 13 *Our revolt has been made before we were fully prepared. It is your business to help us all you can. Never was there a fairer opportunity, for Athens is crippled by the plague. You are concerned as nearly as ourselves, for money is the sinews of war, and it is by our contributions that Athens maintains the struggle against you.*

- 1 προφάσεις. Grounds which are *put forward*, whether the real grounds or not.

σαφείς μὲν . . . ἐδράσαμεν, 'clear to guide our hearers to the conviction that we acted rightly.' For γνῶναι cf. note on 3. 2. 2.

καὶ ἐνομιζόμεν ἀποστήσασθαι . . . προποιήσαι. In the sophistical manner of his time the writer plays upon the meaning of ἀφίστασθαι, which in the one case means 'abstain from' in the other 'revolt from.' For the infinitives ποιεῖν, ξυνελευθεροῦν cf. note on 3. 2. 2. Translate 'we thought we should make a double revolt—one from the Hellenes, in ceasing to aid the Athenians to oppress them instead of helping to set them free, and the other from the Athenians in being the first to act instead of waiting to be ourselves destroyed by them hereafter.'

- 2 θάσσον, i. e. ἡ ἐβουλόμεθα. Note that an adverb θάσσον and adjective ἀπαράσκευος are here co-ordinated by καί : cf. 3. 82. 2 μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχάτερα.

- 3 ἐφθάραται. Thucydides follows Herodotus in using -αται, -ατο as the 3rd plur. of perf. and plupf. pass. but only in a few places. These forms are afterwards only found twice, in Plato and Xenophon. In inscriptions, previous to B. C. 410, they occur three times.

- 5 ὃ γὰρ . . . παρῆξει, 'for whoso thinks that Lesbos is far away (let him know that) Lesbos will bring the aid near to him.'

οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ἐν is used as in 1. 74. 1 ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, 'for the war *will not turn on* Attica, but on those countries by which Attica is supported.'

- 6 ἔστι δὲ . . . ἡ πρόσδοτος. Cf. 2. 13. 2 τὰ τε τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου.

- 7 οὐπερ . . . προσδεῖ, 'which is particularly the reinforcement (πρός) you need.'

ἣν εἶχετε, 'which you have enjoyed up till now.'

τὸ κράτος, 'victory.'

- 14 *Help us then, for our success means the common weal, our failure the common misfortune. Show yourselves worthy of your reputation and of the hopes that are reposed in you.*

- I τὰς . . . ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδας. Thucydides is fond of an extended use of ἐς. 'Hopes in regard to you.' Here in his manner, he uses a substantitive with the construction of a verb.

ἴσα καὶ = *aeque ac*. Cf. Soph. O. T. 1187 ὡς ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ. Eur. Electr. 994 σεβίζω σ' ἴσα καὶ μάκαρας. Herodotus uses ὁμοία, παραπλήσια, &c., in the same way. Cf. Hdt. 3. 8 σέβονται Ἀράβιοι πίστεως ἀνθρώπων ὁμοία τοῖς μάλιστα. So Thucydides in 7. 29. 4 has τὸ γὰρ γένος ὁμοία τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ . . . φονικώτατόν ἐστι.

ἴδιον μὲν . . . σφαλῆσόμεθα. ἴδιον and κοινὴν are predicative. παραβάλλεσθαι usually takes the accusative of the thing risked, e.g. one's life. By a slight extension the danger is here said to be risked. μὴ belongs only to πεισθέντων. Translate 'do not abandon us who, though the danger we incur of our lives is our own, shall bring a common profit to all out of success, and a still more common detriment if you hearken not and we fall.'

- 15 *The Peloponnesian confederacy accepts the proposals of the Mytilenaeans, and preparations are made for an invasion of Attica by land and sea. The gathering of the harvest causes delay.*

- I καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν . . . ὡς ποιησόμενοι. The important word τὴν ἐσβολήν, which is really governed by ὡς ποιησόμενοι, is put at the

beginning of the sentence where it plays the part of an absolute case. Notice that the subject, which is at first *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι* shrinks to *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* alone as the sentence proceeds. *παροῦσι*, 'since they were present,' a redundancy characteristic of the writer; we already know that they were present. The inversion of the natural order of words in this sentence is intended to mark clearly the action of the allies as opposed to the action of the Lacedaemonians themselves, and throws emphasis on the dominant word of the sentence *τὴν ἐσβολήν*. *τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν*. We find the article with fractions of a whole. Translate 'and as to the invasion of Attica, they enjoined the allies being on the spot to march with two thirds of their numbers to the isthmus, in accordance with their determination to invade; and they themselves arrived first.'

τῶν νεῶν. The ships which had fought against Phormio were to be carried over the isthmus, on rollers or trucks, from the harbour of Lechaeum into the Saronic Gulf.

2 *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι*, 'and the other members of the league.'

καὶ ἐν καρποῦ . . . στρατεύειν. 'But they *were engaged in* harvesting, and *were filled with* disinclination to serve:' note the different application of *ἐν* to (1) a concrete, (2) an abstract word. *ἀρρωστίᾳ* of moral disability.

16 *The Athenians man 100 fresh ships, and make descents on the Peloponnese; at this the Peloponnese retire, and prepare a fleet to send to Lesbos under Alcidas.*

1 *διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν*. *κατάγνωσιν* has so far as is possible the construction of its verb, *καταγιγνώσκω*, which often means 'to ascribe something to some one.' Translate 'because they attributed weakness to them.'

καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. *καί* = 'actually.'

ἐσβάντες αὐτοί. Solon's classes were (1) *πεντακοσιομέδωνοι*, (2) *ἱππεῖς*, (3) *ζευγίται*, (4) *θῆτες* who usually served as sailors. The present fleet therefore was manned by *ζευγίται* and *θῆτες* as well as by *μέτοικοι*, the alien settlers in Athens, who paid certain taxes and supplied 3,000 hoplites to the army (2. 31. 2) but enjoyed only a small share of civic rights.

ἀναγαγόντες. A rare use of the active for the middle.

2 παράλογον, 'miscalculation.'

τριάκοντα νῆες. The Peloponnesian envoys had already heard from the Mytilenaeans that these ships which were dispatched (3. 7) under Asopius to Acarnania were about the Peloponnesus. They receive further tidings now of depredations committed by them upon their shores, and this, coupled with the non-appearance of their allies and the new exertions of the Athenian marine, cause them to abandon their design and return home. Many editors suppose that the ships here referred to cannot be the thirty ships, on the ground that the Peloponnesians knew all about them already, and imagine τριάκοντα to be a corruption, understanding these ships of the fleet which had first set out.

τὴν περιοικίδα. The land belonging to the Lacedaemonian Perioeci in Laconia and Messenia.

17 *An account of the Athenian ships that were on service at the same time in the first year of the war. Probably an interpolation.*

This chapter has been suspected as interpolated by some one who wished to see elucidated more distinctly the financial difficulties mentioned in chapter 19. It is certainly full of difficulties, which will be noticed in the commentary.

I ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις. This phrase which occurs in various forms is used both in a weak and in a strong sense; i. e. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις may mean 'among the first' or 'the very first.' Here it may be used in either sense. We must always supply a participle from the context to go with the article, as here πλεούσας; but the masculine form of the article is always retained, even with feminine adjectives as here, no doubt because the phrase originated with masculine and neuter nouns and the masculine form has become stereotyped.

ἐνεργοὶ κάλλει. These words have been explained 'about the time at which the ships were at sea, the Athenians had the largest number of ships *effective by their fine condition* which they ever had at the same time, but in numbers they had as many or still more at the beginning of the war.' This introduces an antithesis between numbers and effective numbers which is, in any case, weak, and would certainly have been indicated more clearly in the Greek if it had been intended. ἐνεργός is nowhere else used for ships, and is

not found again in Thucydides. *κάλλος* in this sense is similarly unexampled. One editor would read *καὶ ἄλλῃ* 'in other parts also.'

παραπλήσiai δέ. The writer then proceeds to enumerate the ships that were on service at the same time in *the first year* of the war. Their number comes to 250. Against this we could only set 150 for the fourth year of the war, the 40 before Mytilene, 12 under Asopius (who had sent back the rest of his ships), the 100 mentioned in chapter 16 and perhaps 5 more. The difference between 150 and 250 is too great to allow the use of the word *παραπλήσiai*.

- 2 *τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν . . . ἐφύλασσον.* It is obvious that this enumeration must refer to the first year of the war since the total here detailed comes to 250, which is the only total to which *ροσαῦται* at the end of the chapter can refer. There it is stated that this was the highest total ever reached, and we have already been told that in the first year the highest total was reached. Moreover *αἱ περὶ Ποτείδαιαν* can only refer to the first year of the war. This being so, of this 100 ships which we are here told guarded Attica, &c., at the beginning of the war this is positively the first mention, a thing which is incredible. Perhaps the interpolator has been misled by the 100 ships of reserve mentioned in 2. 24. 2.

χωρὶς δὲ . . . χωρίοις. The enumeration has left only 50 ships for Potidaea and the other places. In 1. 61. 4 we are told that 70 ships were engaged in the siege of Potidaea, and in 2. 26. 1 the Athenians send 30 ships to Locris and Euboea which may be considered 'the ships in other places,' so that only 20 would be left for Potidaea.

- 3 *τοῦτο.* The maintenance of so many ships.

- 4 *δίδραχμοι.* This was more than the usual pay. In this account of the pay earned by the troops besieging Potidaea it is strange that no mention is made of the force dispatched there under Hagnon and Theopompus (2. 58) consisting of 4,300 men who for a time shared in the siege.

ἐφρούρουν, here, unusually, 'besieged.'

ἐλάμβανε. This change to the singular is remarkable.

τὸν αὐτὸν μισθόν. This was double the usual pay. Thus it will be seen that the chapter contains many difficulties which united make up a serious indictment against it. One editor endeavours to save

the whole by sacrificing a part. He reads *παπαλήσαι καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἢ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου*, and what follows must then be taken as an enumeration of the naval forces employed in this, the fourth year of the war. He is compelled to cut out *περὶ Ποτειδαίου καὶ* in section (2), and to make other arbitrary alterations.

- 18 *The Mytilenaeans make an unsuccessful attack on Methymna and the Methymnaeans on Antissa. The Athenians reinforce the army blockading Mytilene, and surround the town with a double wall.*

I ὧν, repeat *κατά*.

ὡς προδιδομένην. Note the tense: 'thinking treason was at work there.'

προυχῶρει is impersonal, 'when their success did not answer to their expectations.'

2 πληγέντες. So used in the aor. and pf. pass. of a severe defeat.

3 ταῦτα. Explained by the two participial clauses that follow.

4 αὐτερέται, to be taken predicatively with *πλείσαντες*. Hoplites who also rowed the triremes.

φρούρια δ' ἔστιν ἢ . . . ἐγκατακοδόμηται. ἔστιν οἱ or οἷ is the MSS. reading, which editors correct to ἦ or οὗ to suit better with *ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν*. The tense of *ἐγκατακοδόμηται* is difficult. It must mean that forts had already been built on strong positions before the single wall was built. As the historic present *περιτειχίζουσι* answers to an aorist, *ἐγκατακοδόμηται* will answer to a pluperfect. But it is difficult to believe that this was the state of affairs, and the conjecture *ἐγκατοικοδομεῖται* is tempting.

- 19 *The Athenians pay a war tax for the siege of Mytilene, and send round to collect an extraordinary impost from the allies. Death of Lysicles.*

I καὶ αὐτοί. Before only the allies had contributed. This was the first direct contribution raised among the Athenians themselves.

ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς. It is not clear what relation these ships bore to the regular tribute paid by the subject allies. Perhaps this was an extraordinary impost evoked by the necessities of the time.

Λυσικλῆα. Probably the Lysicles whom Aspasia is said to have married after the death of Pericles.

- 2 τῆς ἄλλης στρατιάς, 'of the army besides.' Cf. 3. 112. 2 Δημοσθένης καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα.

20 *Attempt of the Plataeans to break out of their besieged town. They make ladders, calculating the proper height by counting the lays of the bricks.*

- 1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαμῶνος. Genitive of the time within which. ἐσηγησάμενων, 'at the suggestion of.'
2 ἀπώκνησάν πως. Note that ἀποκνῆν here takes a direct object. πως. He doesn't think it worth while to detail the how and wherefore.

ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας . . . τοιῷδε. The sentence is slightly obscured by its brevity. The meaning is 'about 220 volunteers persisted in the scheme of a sortie, which they made in the following manner.' They were volunteers since the formal decree for a sortie was outvoted or repealed.

- 3 ξυμετρήσαντο δὲ . . . αὐτῶν. Sc. τὰς κλίμακας. ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς. A dative following a verb of calculation, 'they calculated the height of the ladders by the courses of the bricks, where the enemy's wall as it faced them was free from whitewash.'

ἡριθμοῦντο . . . καὶ ἔμελλον. The two verbs are put co-ordinately although the first gives the reason for the second.

ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως . . . τοῦ τείχους, 'but the wall was visible easily for their object.' It is clearly impossible to take ἐς ὃ as = ὅσον, or to translate ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο, 'that part of the wall which they intended to climb.' ἐς is quite common in the sense of 'in regard to.'

- 4 τῆς πλίνθου. Collective singular.

21 *A description of the walls of circumvallation surrounding Plataea.*

- 1 πρὸς τε Πλαταιῶν . . . ἐπίοι, 'one on the side of Plataea, the other in case of Athenian attack from without.' 'πρὸς, with the genitive, expresses direction without the idea of motion towards or rest on the object.'
2 τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ . . . ξυνεχῆ, 'this intervening space, the sixteen feet, was built into dwellings divided out among the guards, and the building

formed a continuous whole,' i.e. the two walls were joined together by a roof to look like one thick wall, and afforded covered quarters for the besiegers. *οικήματα*, predicative, is the internal accusative with *ῥοκδομήτο*, analogous to I. 122. 4 ἡ τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται.

3 διὰ, 'at intervals of.'

διήκοντες . . . διῆσαν, 'extending equally (*οἱ αὐτοί*) to the inner and outer face of the wall, so that there was no way by the side of the towers, but the guards passed through them.' The towers covered the whole breadth of the double wall, allowing a passage inside but none outside.

4 χειμῶν νοτερός, 'rainy weather.'

22 *The Plataeans make their sortie, climbing the wall between two towers. A falling tile betrays their operations, but the Plataeans left behind create a diversion, and at the same time hoist fire signals to confuse the signals the Lacedaemonians make to their allies in Thebes.*

1 τηρήσαντες, 'having watched for.'

ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινόν, 'in the prevailing darkness.' This preposition only occurs twice in Thucydides, here and in 4. 72. 2 τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσκεδασμένων.

αὐτῶν, 'the guards.' For the genitive absolute in spite of τοὺς φύλακας cf. 3. 13. 7 βοηθησάντων ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν προσλήψεσθε.

2 ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. Commentators are divided on the question which foot contributed to safety, the shod or the unshod, in the mud. It would be thought that a bare foot would slip in the mud more than a shod one and that it was more important to have the left foot planted firmly than the right.

3 μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν . . . ἀνέβαινον. Some editors write ἐχώρου for ἀνέβαινον here, and ἀνέβαινον for ἐχώρου below. But this gives a wrong meaning to the sentence. μετὰ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι = 'Ammeas and his followers,' and the sentence to ἀνέβαινον is parenthetical, describing the intention of their climbing. The object of ἀνέβαινον is the intervening wall, not the towers. The time for an attack on the towers was not yet. 'And Ammeas and his followers were climbing, six to attack either tower.'

- 4 οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων. See note on 24. 3 and 102. 3.
- 5 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὤρμησεν, 'rushed out on the wall.'
- ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἤ, 'on the side opposite the side where.' Cf. 7. 80. 1 ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἢ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐτήρουν.
- 6 ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν εἰκάσαι, 'were at a loss . . . for conjecturing.' Such uses of the infinitive are very intelligible when we remember that it was, by origin, a dative. Cf. 1. 25. 1 ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν.
- 7 ἔξω τοῦ τεύχους. They patrolled outside the walls since, for all they knew, the alarm might be caused by an attack of the Athenians. C reads ἔξωθεν, which is not again found with a genitive in Thucydides.
- φρυκτοὶ . . . πολέμιοι, 'beacons to give notice of the enemy.'
- 8 παραύσυχον δὲ καί. παρά denotes the intended confusion. Grote points out that the blockaders must have been in the habit of transmitting intelligence to Thebes by fire signals. The besieged had observed this, and had prepared fire signals on their part, which were designed to confuse the meaning of this telegraphic communication.
- ἢ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν. The subjunctive is often used for the optative in final clauses for the sake of vividness. Here we have the two forms in the same sentence without any distinction of meaning, just as we find the indicative and optative interchanged in Oratio Obliqua. Cf. 6. 96. 3 ὅπως τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν εἶησαν φύλακες καὶ . . . ταχὺ ξυνεστῶτες παραγίγνονται. Others suppose the subjunctive (the mood of will) gives the nearer, the optative (the mood of wish) the remoter purpose, but cf. 6. 96 where the so-called optative of the 'remoter purpose' comes first.
- πρὶν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες. This use of σφῶν for ἐαυτῶν (referring to the subject of its own sentence) is Ionic, as we see from the usage of Herodotus. Cf. 1. 25. 2 τὸν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα.
- 23 *The assailants hold two of the towers and climb over the intervening space. They are attacked as they descend by the 300 appointed to guard the outside wall, but are favoured by the darkness and escape across the half frozen trench.*
- 1 καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν, to be taken with εἶργον βάλλοντες, referring to those guarding the passages and to those on the summits.

οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ refers to those at the foot of the wall. Explained by οἱ πλείους.

τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπόσαντες. By tearing down the battlements they made it possible to plant a greater number of ladders.

- 2 ὁ διακομζόμενος αἰεὶ, 'as each crossed over, he stood on the edge of the (outside) trench.'

κωλυτῆς γίγνεται. Thucydides is fond of using a substantive and auxiliary instead of a simple verb.

- 3 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων . . . καταβαίνοντες, 'those from the towers descending, the last of them, with difficulty.' Cf. note on ch. 3. II. 4. οἱ τελευταῖοι stands to οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων as the part to the whole.

- 4 ἐκ τοῦ σκότους. To be taken with ἐώρων.

ἐς τὰ γυμνά, 'against their unshielded, i. e. right sides.'

- 5 ἄλλ' οἷος . . . μᾶλλον. ἡ cannot mean 'or' as the North Wind was not a thawing wind. Either then we must suppose μᾶλλον to be misplaced, and construe ἀπηλιώτου μᾶλλον ἢ βορέου, which is an awkward expression at the best, or understand ἡ βορέου as a scholiast's note which has been inserted in the text in the wrong place. ἀπηλιώτου is to be classed alongside of the genitive of time. It is a special usage with οἷος, ὥς, &c. Cf. Soph. Ant. 256 φεύγοντος ὥς, Trach. 768 ὥστε τέκτονος, O. T. 1260 ὥς ὑφ' ἡγῆτο. With μᾶλλον we must supply in thought ἡ βέβαιος.

ὑπονειφομένη. A rare use of the passive of an intransitive verb.

ὑπερέχοντες, 'keeping their heads above water.'

ἐγένετο . . . ἡ διάφευξις. The more common word is διαφυγή. Thucydides is fond of these forms in -σις, especially in connexion with γίγνεσθαι the passive of ποιέσθαι. They were afterwards usual in the later historians.

διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος. This order of words, by which the genitive is placed between the preposition and the noun it governs, is almost confined to Thucydides and Herodotus.

- 24 *Baffling pursuit by a feigned direction they subsequently escape to Athens.*

- 1 ἐχώρουν . . . τὴν ὁδόν. τὴν ὁδόν resembles very closely the cognate accusative, and, like that accusative, belongs to the class of accusatives which repeat with more or less modification the meaning

given by the verb. Cf. below *ταύτην τραπέσθαι* and *τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν . . . διώκοντας*.

ἦμιστ' (ἀν) ὑποτοπήσαι. The MSS. have no *ἀν*. Can an aorist infinitive be used to express future time after verbs of thinking, unless such verbs (e.g. *ἐλπίζω, εἰκός ἐστι*) contain in themselves a determination to the future? There are quite a number of instances in Thucydides, but in each case *ἀν*, as here, might easily have dropped out or the usual confusion of aorist and future terminations have taken place. Cf. 2. 3. 2 *ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδίως κρατῆσαι*. Is it possible that these verbs, e.g. *νομίζω*, were sometimes considered as verbs of expectation, just as we say 'I thought to do it'?

2 *λαβόμενοι τῶν ὄρων*, 'reaching the mountains.' Cf. 3. 106. 3 *λαβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους*.

3 *οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι . . . παυσάμενοι*, 'the Peloponnesians desisted from the pursuit and returned to their stations.' *βοήθεια* is often applied to any forward movement of an armed host. The sense of 'rescue' disappears.

οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς. This proleptic use of *ἐκ* is common in Greek. It implies that some movement or action is to proceed from the person or thing concerned. Here the use is occasioned by *κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες*.

εἰδότες οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ . . . ἀπαγγελλάντων. Thucydides uses considerable freedom in connecting cases not strictly co-ordinate.

ἰσπίνδοντο ἀναίρειν τοῖς νεκροῖς, 'they sought to make a truce for taking up the dead.' For *σπένδομαι* with the accusative of the thing and dative of the person cf. 3. 109. 2 *ἀναχώρησιν δὲ οὐκ ἐσπέισαντο ἀπασι*.

25 *Salaethus the Lacedaemonian makes his way into Mytilene, and encourages the citizens to hold out. End of the fourth year of the war.*

1 *κατὰ χαράδραν τινά*, 'by way of a certain ravine.'

προαποπεμφθῆναι τε. Postscript *τε*.

2 *πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους* depend upon both verbs in the sentence, 'they had less inclination to the Athenians, for coming to terms with them.'

ὃ τε χειμὼν, inferential *τε*, 'and so this winter ended.'

26 *Fifth year of the war. The Peloponnesians dispatch a fleet under Alcidas to the relief of Mytilene, and themselves invade Attica. The severest invasion since the second.*

- 1 δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. In chapters 16, 25, 29, 69, 76 only 40 ships are mentioned. Thucydides here once for all gives the exact number, and in other places gives the nearest round number.

ἀρχοντα Ἀλκίδαν. All the MSS. read ἔχοντα. It is probably a corruption for ἀρχοντα. ἔχοντα with προστάξαντες would be pleonastic, and in four other places that resemble this we have ἀρχοντα after the aor. part. of προστάσσω.

ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐπιβοηθήσωσιν. The subjunctive is best supported, although some MSS. show the future which is rare with ὅπως but not unsupported. Cf. 1. 19. 1 where C reads ὅπως πολιτεύουσιν θεραπεύοντες.

Elsewhere in Thucydides where ἐπιβοηθεῖν is constructed with a dative it means 'to come to the help of.' Cf. 4. 29. 4 ἢ χρὴν ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν. Or 'to attack with.' Cf. 3. 96. 3 πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν. Here only it takes a dative of the person or thing attacked. καταπλεούσας, 'as they were sailing in.' ἦσσαν, less than if an attack were not made on Attica.

- 2 πατρὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὤν. As though the preceding words had been what they involve αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ βασιλεύων.
- 3 καὶ εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει. If καὶ is genuine it must mean 'even,' 'that is,' and this is not impossible. Most editors consider it spurious, the insertion of a copyist influenced by the preceding τε. If omitted the sentence runs more smoothly: 'they ravaged those parts of Attica that had been devastated before, where new crops had grown up, and all the parts that had been spared in the previous invasions.'
- 4 ἐπιμένοντές τι πέυσσθαι. Only once again in Thucydides is this verb followed by an infinitive, and in that passage the infinitive is joined with an accusative. Cf. 3. 2. 2 τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χώσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν . . . ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι. Here it has the construction, as it almost has the meaning of ἐλπίζοντες.

ὥς, 'believing that.'

ἐπεξήλθον τὰ πολλὰ τέμνοντες. ἐπεξήλθον is to be taken with τέμνοντες which governs τὰ πολλὰ. 'They vigorously carried out the devastation of the greater part of the country.'

- 27 *Salaethus makes hoplites of the commons of Mytilene who had previously been light armed. They at once threaten to make terms with the Athenians.*

1 οἱ δὲ . . . ἔφασαν παραδῶσιν τὴν πόλιν. 'The Mytilenaeen oligarchy had revolted, in spite of the absence of practical wrongs, because it desired an uncontrolled town autonomy, as well as security for its continuance. But this was a feeling to which the people were naturally strangers, having no share in the government of their own town.'—Grote.

2 ὀπλίζει. Turns them into hoplites.

3 τοὺς δυνατοὺς. The oligarchical governing class.

- 28 *So the oligarchs are obliged to surrender the town to the Athenians. An embassy is sent to Athens, and meantime the guiltiest of the Mytilenaeans are lodged in Tenedos. Paches reduces Antissa.*

1 ἀποκωλύειν δυνατοί. The MSS. read ἀποκωλύσειν, which could not stand after a verb of 'being able.' The confusion of the present and the future is common in MSS.

κοινῇ. Together with the democratical party.

βουλεύσαι, 'decide' (aorist).

ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἄν is used with the same double force as ἕως ἄν, viz. 'while' and 'until.'

2 οἱ πράξαντες, 'those who have intrigued.'

οὐκ ἠνίσχοντο. Absolutely 'could not contain themselves.'

δμως. In spite of the convention.

ἀναστήσας. The regular word for raising a suppliant from the altar to grant him protection.

ᾧστε, 'on the condition that.'

μέχρι οὗ . . . δόξη. Note the omission of ἄν, which is most frequent in tragic poetry. It is possible that Thucydides consciously affected poetic constructions, as it is obvious that he affected poetic words, to give dignity and colour to his style.

- 29 *The Peloponnesian fleet arrive too late to help Mytilene. The captains consult what to do.*

1 οὓς ἕδει . . . παραγενέσθαι. Note the unwillingness of the Peloponnesian ships, unless inspired by a. Brasidas, to attack the Athenians on their own element.

πλίνοντες . . . ἐνδιέτριψαν καὶ . . . κομισθέντες. A slight anacoluthon.

The two ideas which ought to be connected are found in ἐνδιέτριψαν and κομμοσθέντες. We should have expected ἐνδιατρίψαντες or ἐκομίσθησαν ὥστε.

τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. The ἐκ signifies that they apprehended an attack from Athens.

πρὶν δὴ . . . ἔσχον, 'until at last they put in at Delos.'

- 2 τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἱαλωκυίᾳ, 'since Mytilene was captured.' The true dative, i.e. the dative of the person or thing concerned. The capture of Mytilene was that *in reference to which* the seven days had elapsed.

ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, 'to meet the emergency.'

- 30 *Teuissaphus of Elis advises that they should sail straight for Mytilene, and surprise the Athenians by a night attack in the carelessness of success.*

- 1 ὥσπερ ἔχομεν, 'without loss of time.'

- 2 κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εἶκος . . . εὐρήσομεν. ἀνδρῶν is the genitive depending on τὸ ἀφύλακτον. Translate 'with men who are but recently in possession of the city we shall find the negligence to be great.'

καὶ πάνυ, 'especially.'

ἀνέλπιστοι. Usually passive, here active. Cf. 6. 17. 8 καὶ νῦν οὕτε ἀνέλπιστοί πω μᾶλλον Πελοποννήσιοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐγένοντο.

ἐπιγενίσθαι. Of an unexpected attack.

ἡ ἀλκή. Is here used in the sense it bears in poetry and in Herodotus, 'strength,' 'prowess.' Translate 'and where our strength chiefly lies.' Cf. 4. 32. 4 τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ σφενδόναϊς ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκήν. The speaker means that *on this expedition* the Peloponnesians had greater naval forces than land forces engaged. Others explain, 'and where we have specially to be on the defensive,' a meaning which the Greek will hardly bear. One editor conjectures unnecessarily μόλις παρούσα, 'and where our force is with difficulty present,' referring to the slow movement of the Peloponnesian fleet.

ἀμελείστερον ὡς κεκρατηκότων, 'with the carelessness of men who feel that they are conquerors.'

- 3 ἐλπίζω . . . καταληφθῆναι ἄν. ἐλπίζω, followed by the present or aorist infinitive with ἄν, has the milder sense of 'suspect.'

- 4 νομίσαντες . . . πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο. The reading of C M is τὸ

κενόν. Other MSS. τὸ καινόν. In the question between the two readings the MSS. are not much help since the two words were pronounced alike quite early. If (a) we read τὸ κενόν, τὸ τοιοῦτον refers to 'shrinking from danger' which he describes as 'groundless panic in war.' Aristotle speaks of dangers of war which appear terrible but are groundless. Arist. Eth. Nicom. 3. 11. 6 δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἃ μάλιστα συνεωράκασιν οὗτοι· φαίνονται δὲ ἀνδρείοι ὅτι οὐκ ἴσασιν οἱ ἄλλοι οἷά ἐστιν. With this reading δ is governed (1) by φυλάσσοιτο, (2) by ἐνορῶν, while ἐπιχειροῖη must be taken absolutely. ἐν αὐτῷ is used instead of the ordinary αὐτός to balance τοῖς πολεμίοις. Translate 'bethinking ourselves that groundless panic in war is just this, and the general who should be on his guard against this himself and who should make his attack when he observes it in his enemy, would be most likely to succeed.' If (b) we adopt τὸ καινόν, 'a surprise in war,' τὸ τοιοῦτον may refer either to εἰ προσπέσοιμεν ἄφνω, 'a sudden attack,' or to τὸν κίνδυνον, 'dangerous.' τὸ καινόν is the antecedent of δ which has a double reference. A sudden attack is a thing to guard against and to employ. Translate 'bethinking ourselves that a surprise in war is always like this; and that the general who should be on his guard against being surprised himself, and who, seeing a chance of surprising his enemy should attempt it, would be most likely to succeed.' (c) The conjecture τὸ κοινόν is 'that which is common or impartial in war,' the *communis Mars* of Latin. The mistake of negligence is the common element in war. The best sense is given by τὸ κενόν.

31 *This plan Alcidas rejects, together with the advice of some exiles from Ionia that he should seize some city in Ionia and put the Athenians to the expense and trouble of blockading them.*

- 1 ὅπως ἐκ πύλεως . . . γίγνηται. This is a difficult passage complicated by a possible corruption of the text. If the first ἦν, the MSS. reading, is sound, καὶ ἅμα must mean 'at the same time also,' γίγνηται belonging to ὅπως and being co-ordinated with ἀποστήσωσιν by the καὶ before τὴν πρόσσodon. If ἦν is deleted ὑφέλωσι must be taken with ὅπως and καὶ ἅμα will mean 'and at the same time.' Now what was the proposal? To seize some Ionian town, from which, as a base of operation, the rest of Ionia might be made to revolt, so as to cut off the main source of Athenian revenue, and to

do something else—the nature of which depends on the reading we choose to adopt. Most MSS. show *ἦν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοῖς δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται*. *σφίσι* must refer to the speakers who are Ionians, identifying themselves with the Peloponnesians, and it is they who are the subjects of *ἐφορμῶσιν*. *δαπάνη* must then be translated, ‘resources for carrying on the war,’ a sense it bears in Herodotus. Cf. Hdt. 5. 30 *ὑπῆρχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ*, and cf. also Thuc. 1. 99. 3 *ἠῴξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκείνοι ἐυμφέρουεν*, and 8. 37. 4. Translate ‘and that they might at the same time also, should they attack the Athenian land by sea, have resources for doing so.’ For various reasons this is not very satisfactory, and a better sense can be obtained by adopting the reading of C M *ἦν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσιν, αὐτοῖς δαπάνη γίγνηται*, which is supported by a scholiast who says, ‘*σφίσιν αὐτοῖς* must not be read together, but separately, with a stop after *σφίσιν*.’ This part of the plan will then fit much better the general proposal. They were to seize a position and *put the Athenians to the expense of blockading them*, an act of which the Athenians, as masters of the sea, would be much more capable than the Peloponnesians. This interpretation is rendered more likely by the concluding words of chapter 33, where Paches is represented as being glad that Alcidas had not taken up his position in some Ionian harbour which, in that case, he would have had to blockade. Translate ‘that making the city a base of operations they might cause Ionia to revolt (and there was hope of doing so, for to none was their coming unwelcome), and that, if they should steal away this the main source of Athenian revenue, the Athenians might at the same time also be put to expense should they blockade them (i.e. the Peloponnesians).’

- 2 τὸ πλείστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν. We should say, ‘he inclined most to the plan.’ A similar expression occurs in 4. 34. 1 *τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον εἰληφότες*.

τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὕστερήκει, ‘he had been too late to help Mytilene.’ We hesitate whether to wonder more at the pusillanimity of this Spartan admiral or his cruelty which is related in a subsequent chapter. All the Ionic towns were unfortified, and he might have occupied any one of them with little trouble or danger. The whole expedition was badly bungled, and the Athenians and their allies were fortunate that Brasidas was not in command.

- 32 *Alcidas puts his Ionian prisoners to death. The Samians remonstrate.*

2 εἰ ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν. εἰ for ὅτι after the verb of indignation implied in the preceding words.

3 δρῶντες γὰρ . . . ἔφευγον. These words give the reason why Alcidas had taken so many prisoners.

μή ποτε . . . παραβαλεῖν. μή is due to the negative word of expecting in the principal sentence. So we find μή after ἀνέλπιστον, ἀπιστεῖν, &c.

παραβαλεῖν, intransitive, 'to cross.' So found in Herodotus.

- 33 *Alcidas is seen by the Athenian state-triremes and hurries away in flight. Paches pursues him but fails to catch him up.*

1 ὤφθη, 'he had been sighted.'

Σαλαμινίας καὶ Παράλου. Two swift triremes always kept ready to perform various public services.

περὶ Κλάρον. Clarus is a well-known place in Ionia. Alcidas might easily have touched there before he arrived at Ephesus, though the fact is not mentioned.

2 ἦλθε. Denotes the first cursory news. ἀφικνέτο. The repeated tidings.

εἰ καὶ ὥς, 'if in spite of the fact that Ionia was unfortified.'

ἕμα refers back to παραπλέοντες.

ἔφρασαν of the accurate information given by eyewitnesses.

3 ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπι . . . ἐφαίνετο. ἐφαίνετο might be impersonal, but it is better to take Ἀλκίδας as its subject. οὐκ ἐπι belongs to ἐν καταλήψει. Paches had started too late, 'when it was clear that Alcidas by this time was out of reach.'

ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ . . . παρῶν, 'because nowhere were they caught and compelled to fortify a camp on land, and give the Athenians the trouble of guarding and blockading them.' Cf. 3. 31. 2.

- 34 *Capture of Notion by Paches. It is organized into a colony with Hellenic privileges.*

1 ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων. Notion was the port of Colophon, and distant about two miles from the city inland (τῆς ἄνω πόλεως). About three years previously Colophon had been the scene of a στάσις, and one of the parties called in Itamenes, a general of the

Persian Satrap Pissuthnes, who ejected the other party. The ejected party settled in Notion, but the Colophonians soon procured a party in Notion and, with the aid of some Arcadian mercenaries in the service of Pissuthnes, obtained possession of the port. Here the Arcadians were established as garrison, and quartered in a separate citadel (*ἐν διατειχίσματι*). The expelled inhabitants now invoked the aid of Paches to expel the Arcadians.

κατῳκηγτο. The rule in Attic is to use the active of the verb when it relates to human beings. The usage of Thucydides and Herodotus is different. Cf. 1. 120. 2 *τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατῳκημένους*.

κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίαν, usually interpreted, 'by reason of intestine party strife,' but it is doubtful if *ἰδίαν* can bear that meaning. *ἰδία* has been conjectured, 'called in by reason of party strife *by one of the parties*.' This is supported by 3. 2. 3 *ἰδία ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν μνηστὰι γίνονται*.

μάλιστα ὅτε, 'about when.' *μάλιστα* expresses the result of the fullest effort to get at the right number, but admits the possibility of a slight error on one side or the other.

- 2 *ἐν διατειχίσματι εἶχον*, 'kept them in a part of the city fortified off.' So Livy says, 'Vallo urbem ab arce intersaepire.'

καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω . . . ἐπολίτευον. This is a parenthesis which breaks into the construction of the sentence. Those of the Colophonians in the upper city who had called in Itamenes (*οἱ μηδίσαντες*) now joined with those who called in the Arcadians and entered in and shared in their civic rights.

ὑπεξελθόντες. Only here takes an accusative, but cf. 2. 88. 2 *μηδένα ὄχλον ὑποχωρεῖν*, and so we find an accusative after *ὑπεκστῆναι*, *ὑπεκτρέπεσθαι*.

- 3 *τῶν ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων*. The MSS. have *τὸν ἐν τῷ*, but the article is not needed for *ἄρχοντα* and is required for *ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων*. Hence the correction *τῶν*.

ὥστε, 'on the condition that.'

ὁ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος . . . ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε. An easy anacoluthon, lying nearer to Greek usage than to ours, from the Greek fondness for paratactic arrangement. The writer no doubt intended *ἐξελθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν*, but altered his intention.

κατατοξέει. This grim jest, though not unexampled, was

foreign to Athenian usage and, we will hope, brought Paches into trouble. It is characteristic of Thucydides that here, as in the case of Alcidas, he passes no moral judgement.

- 4 καὶ ὕστερον . . . Κολοφωνίων. Grote says that this step of organizing Notion into a colony according to their own laws and customs by sending 'Oecists' or organizers, and inviting the return of Colophonian exiles from the neighbouring States, was intended to confer a sort of Hellenic citizenship and recognized collective personality on the new town of Notion, without which its citizens would not have been admitted to the national Hellenic privileges.

35 *Paches arrives at Mytilene and sends Salaethus and the most guilty of the Mytilenaeans to Athens.*

36 *Salaethus is put to death, and the execution of all the Mytilenaeans is decreed. But next day the Athenians repent their decision, and the Mytilenaeans persuade the magistrates to convene another assembly to reopen the question. Character of Cleon.*

1 ἔστιν ἃ παρεχόμενον, 'making various offers.' Cf. I. 39. 2 τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο.

2 γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο. Usually means 'proposed.' Cf. I. 128. 7 γνώμην ποιοῦμαι θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι. Here it rather means 'debated,' as in I. 139. 3 γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προτιθέσαν.

ἐπικαλοῦντες. As though ἐβουλεύσαντο instead of ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς had preceded.

τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν . . . παρακινδυνεύσαι. τὴν τε ἄλλην καὶ must according to the invariable usage of the expression mean 'reproached them with their revolt on general grounds and specially.' But where is the special reproach? It must obviously be that they had called in Peloponnesian ships. Thucydides begins as if he intended to write καὶ ὅτι αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐτόλμησαν, but when he reaches the special fault he changes the form of the sentence. One editor with no MSS. justification inserts καὶ before ὅτι, which makes the special reproach lie in the words ὅτι οὐκ . . . ἐποίησαντο. (a) προσϋνελάβοντο, 'co-operated with,' is the reading of C G and a correction in B F. It is true the word does not occur again till a late historian, but in 4. 47. 2 we have ξυμβάλλεσθαι with the

same meaning and construction *ξυνελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, and the other compounds are found in Herodotus in much the same sense. Hdt. 3. 48 *συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι στρατεύματος*. Cf. also Thuc. 6. 70. 1 *τοῦτο ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ φόβου*. οὐκ ἐλάχιστον is adverbial, and ὁρμῆς is the partitive genitive after a verb of touching. Translate 'reproaching them with their revolt on general grounds because, though governed more easily than the rest, they had revolted ; and what most assisted their rage was the Peloponnesian ships daring to risk a voyage to Ionia to bring help to the Mytilenaeans.' (b) Many MSS. read *προσξυνεβάλετο*, which is explained 'the fact of the Peloponnesian ships having ventured to sail to Ionia contributed most to their rage.' We have *ξυμβάλλεσθαι* in the same sense with the same case in Eur. Med. 284 *ξυμβάλλεται δὲ πολλὰ τοῦδε δέματος*, but this compound does not occur again, and the singular verb with the plural subject is not paralleled by 4. 26. 5 and 8. 9. 3, where the number of the verb has been attracted to the number of the predicate. (c) There seems to be some authority for *προσξυνεβάλοντο*. οὐκ ἐλάχιστον might then be the direct object of the verb. Cf. Arist. Ath. Polit. c. 19 *συνεβάλλετο δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν τῆς ὁρμῆς τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἢ . . . ὑπάρχουσα φίλια*.

παρακινδυνεύσαι ἐς Ἰωνίαν. Cf. 7. 47. 3 *ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς διακινδυνεύσαι*, 'to risk an assault on.'

οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ βραχείας διανοίας, 'with great aims.'

- 4 *καὶ ἀναλογισμὸς . . . ἐγνώσθαι*, 'and they began to reflect that the resolution they had passed was cruel and excessive.' No doubt, as Grote observes, their wrath had been partly assuaged by the mere passing of the decree, quite apart from its execution. The resolution to put the inhabitants of Mytilene to death, was in accordance with the war practice of the time. The Lacedaemonians soon after this slaughter the Plataeans to a man.

μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. It has been shown that in comparative sentences a negative is always implied, e.g. virtue is better than riches = virtue is better and not riches. In Greek this implied negative is sometimes inserted. Cf. 2. 62. 3 *μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κηπίον*.

- 5 *παρεσκεύασαν*, 'induced.' *τοὺς ἐν τίλει*, 'the Prytaneis.' *γνώμας προθεῖναι*, 'to bring forward the matter for discussion.' *τινάς*. No more in sense than *τινά*, but the number is no doubt

influenced by the number of τοὺς ἐν τέλει, 'that they should be given the chance of reconsidering their decree.'

6 ἀφ' ἑκάστων, 'opinions *proceeding from each*.'

Κλίων δὲ Κλεονίτου. Although Thucydides hardly ever passes judgement on individuals, he makes an exception in the case of Cleon, and that he is biased against him is obvious. He ridicules his offer to capture Sphacteria, and relates in a later book how it was his interest to keep up the war, because war saved his crimes from detection and made his libels more easily believed. But what other accounts of Cleon we possess agree with Thucydides. Cf. Arist. Ath. Polit. 28 δοκεῖ μάλιστα διαφθεῖραι τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐδημηγόρησε τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων.

ὅσπερ καὶ . . . ἐνενικήκει. With προτέραν we must supply γνώμην from ἄλλαι γνώμαι above, but with a slight change of meaning, for here the word no longer means 'opinion' but 'decision.' For the construction cf. Plato, Gorgias 456 οἱ νικῶντες τὰς γνώμας, and see note on τὴν ὁδόν, 3. 24. 1.

37 Cleon denounces the unwise tenderness and scruples of the people, which refused to recognize the despotic nature of their rule over the allies. Their allegiance depended upon force not upon goodwill. Nothing could be more mischievous than to rescind public resolutions; for even bad laws steadily enforced are better than good laws whose application is uncertain. So intellectual inferiority is more conducive to good government than brilliant ability, which is always, as in Athens, striving after a victory in debate, and sacrifices public interests to private ambition.

2 διὰ γὰρ . . . ἀλλήλους . . . ἔχετε, 'for on account of the security and freedom from mutual intrigues that marks your daily life you behave with the same openness to your allies too.'

ὅτι ἂν . . . οἰκτῶ ἐνδῶτε, 'whatever concessions you make to pity.'

οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως . . . μαλακίεσθαι. ἐς τὴν . . . χάριν expresses the result of the action of the verb. οὐκ must be taken with ἡγείσθε. Translate 'you do not consider that your act of weakness is dangerous to yourselves and does not result in the gratitude of your allies.'

οὐ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν, κ.τ.λ. The MSS. read no οὐ—the οὐ clause gives a lively illustration of the words ἀκοντας ἀρχομένους. The asyndeton is unusual, and is not paralleled by 3. 63. 2 where the harshness is alleviated by γε. Οὐ, which is inserted in the text, is found (as a correction) in one MS. More plausible is οὐδ' for οὐκ. Translate 'they yield you obedience not for any favour which to your own detriment you do them, but for the superiority you have won rather by force than by their good-will.' ἐξ ὧν = ἐκ τούτων δ. δ would be the internal accusative with περιγένησθε.

- 3 πάντων δὲ . . . πέρι, 'but it will be worst of all if none of our formal resolutions is to stand firm.' The argument is disingenuous. Cleon confounds laws and resolutions. It was only a resolution that was here in question.

ἀκινήτοις, 'if they are steadily applied.' ἀκύροις, 'if they are not binding.'

μετὰ σωφροσύνης. σωφροσύνη, 'political moderation' which, in Thucydides, is usually attributed to an oligarchical government. It is a strange word in the mouth of a demagogue. Translate 'dulness attended by respect for law is more useful than ability joined with licence.'

οἱ τε φαυλότεροι, refers to intellectual inferiority, 'the simple.'

πρὸς τοὺς, 'as compared with the.'

ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν, 'as a general rule.' The ordinary expression is ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. This variation of it is found nowhere else.

- 4 τῶν τε αἰεὶ . . . περιγίγνεσθαι. ἐς τὸ κοινόν might mean 'for the public good,' or merely 'in public debate,' i. e. things said in presence of the public assembly. Cf. Eur. Hec. 303 ἀ δ' εἶπον εἰς ἅπαντας οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι. The latter gives the simpler sense. Translate 'and ever wish to carry the victory in public debate.'

ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις . . . τὴν γνώμην, 'under the belief that they could not show their wisdom in a better field.'

τὰ πολλὰ, 'for the most part.'

τῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν ξυνίσει, 'the acuteness that has its origin in themselves.'

ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν . . . εἶναι, 'admit that the laws are wiser than they.' Cleon is recalling, almost verbally, the praise of the Spartans put into the mouth of Archidamos, 1. 84. 3 ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροφίας παιδευόμενοι.

ἀδυνατώτεροι . . . μέψασθαι. A different phrase from ἀδυνατώτεροι

ἢ ὥστε μέμψασθαι. This phrase means 'less capable (than others) for criticizing the arguments of a good speaker.' For the infinitive cf. note on 3. 2. 2.

κριταὶ δὲ . . . τὰ πλείω. ἀγωνισταί, partakers in the debate, 'disputants.' ὀρβοῦνται τὰ πλείω contrasts with σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις, 'and being impartial judges rather than disputants they are usually successful.'

5 ὥς so used for οὕτως is rare in Attic prose and only occurs here in Thucydides.

δαινόητι . . . ἐπαιρομένους, 'excited by rhetorical skill and a combat of wit.'

παρὰ δόξαν, usually 'contrary to expectation.' Here 'contrary to our real opinion.'

38 *My opinion, he said, is what it was, and the orators who wish to revive the whole question of the Mytilenaeans must either be maintaining a paradox to display their talents or be bribed to delude you. It is your own folly which gives these speakers their opportunity. Your passion for novelty and sympathy with rhetorical display tempt them to gratify your craving for intellectual excitement rather than to propose to you sound sense in simple language.*

1 θαυμάζω μὲν . . . λέγειν. The full construction here would be θαυμάζω τῶν προθέντων ἃ προύθεσαν, i. e. the accusative of the thing and the genitive of the person, which stands as a possessive genitive to the accusative of the thing. τῶν προθέντων, sc. γνώμας, as in I. 139. 3 γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προυτίθεσαν. λέγειν is the epexegetic infinitive.

ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς, 'a thing which is in the interests of': literally in the direction of, on the side of. μάλλον, 'more than in our interests.'

ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ . . . ἀναλαμβάνει. (α) As the words stand in the MSS. ἀμύνεσθαι must be taken as the subject of the sentence, and we must translate 'but punishment when it lies as near as possible to the injury best exacts the proper penalty because it is equivalent to the injury.' (β) A better sense can be obtained by omitting ὅν, which may have been caused by dittography. ἀντίπαλον will then agree with τιμωρίαν, and ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον and μάλιστα ἀντίπαλον stand in what is called 'reciprocal proportion.' Moreover the second half of the sentence will thus correspond better with the first half.

Translate 'the sufferer advances against the doer with his anger blunted; but when punishment lies as near as possible to the injury, the penalty it exacts is in the highest degree equivalent to the offence'; i.e. the closer the punishment is to the offence, the more equivalent to the wrong is the penalty it exacts. τῷ παθεῖν is the dative after the whole expression ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον. ἐγγύς alone governs the genitive. Thucydides might say ἀμύνεσθαι τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει, 'vengeance exacts punishment,' although we expect τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι, and it would appear that Plutarch who quotes this passage twice read τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι. The absence of the article is perhaps paralleled by 2. 54. 3 ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι where εἰρῆσθαι is probably the subject.

(c) One editor proposes to take κείμενον as an accusative absolute, 'if it is proposed or offered to take vengeance,' and conjectures τοῦ παθεῖν. He makes ὁ παθὼν the subject of ἀναλαμβάνει, and if other examples of κείμενον so used could be adduced this would be a plausible suggestion. The only instance where κείται is so joined with an infinitive is in Dem. 23. 85 νόμον δὲ κείται τὸν φεύγοντα δέχεσθαι.

Θαυμάζω δὲ καί. Whoever argues against inflicting condign punishment on the Mytilenaeans must prove a paradox, viz. that the injuries we have received from the Mytilenaeans are to our advantage, and that our misfortunes are hurtful to our allies. The converse of this is true, therefore punish the Mytilenaeans. This argument was sound enough up to a certain point—to the punishment of rebels, but it did not justify their annihilation.

- 2 καὶ δῆλον ὅτι. Cleon endeavours to intimidate his opponents in debate. Whoever attempts to argue thus, he says, either desires to display his own rhetorical dexterity by proving that black is white, or has been bribed to mislead you by an elaborate display of eloquence. He distinguishes his opponents as they are actuated either by a vainglorious desire of rhetorical display or by the hope of winning a bribe. The weapon of both classes is the same, τὸ λέγειν, which is repeated by τὸ εὑπρεπὲς τοῦ λόγου in more special terms.

τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν, 'the deep-seated belief,' i.e. the converse of the paradox stated in the preceding sentence. ἀνταποφάναι, 'to show on the other side.'

ὡς οὐκ ἔγνωσται is usually taken 'that it does not rest on right judgement': but why should the words mean more than 'that it is not the general opinion,' 'has never been approved'?

ἀγωνίσαιτ' ἄν, 'would display his powers.'

τὸ εὐπρεπὲς . . . ἐκπονήσας, 'elaborating the plausible side of his argument'; i. e. elaborately making the best of a bad cause.

4 κακῶς ἀγωνοθεοῦντες. 'By evilly instituting these contests.'

οἵτινες . . . τῶν ἔργων. 'Seeing that you are accustomed to be spectators of debates (only) but to take your facts on hearsay.' Your interest is in the performance of the speakers.

τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα . . . γίνεσθαι. It is more natural to take ὡς δυνατὰ γίνεσθαι with σκοποῦντες than after εἰπόντων, 'estimating the possibility of future events by the prophecies of brilliant speakers.'

τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα . . . ἐπιτιμῶσάντων. τὰ πεπραγμένα is governed by σκοποῦντες. The other accusatives depend upon λαβόντες, which is used here in the sense of ὑπολαβόντες: cf. 2. 42. 4 τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες. 'But accomplished facts—counting not what has been done more sure because your eyes have seen it than what you have heard—you judge in accordance with the speeches of clever critics.' To complete the sentence logically we should expect ἀκροάσει after ἀκουσθέν.

5 καὶ μετὰ καινότητος. μετὰ of the cause, a meaning easily deducible from its proper sense 'in company with.'

ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι. ἄριστοι is ironical. For the meaning cf. Hdt. 3. 80. 3 ἀνὴρ τύραννος διαβολὰς ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. For the infinitive cf. note on 3. 37. 4. Translate 'no men are finer at being deceived by a new-coined phrase.'

μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου δὲ . . . ἐθίλειν, 'but at refusing assent to what is generally approved.' Cf. above τὸ πάνυ δοκοῦν.

δοῦλοι . . . ἀτόπων, 'the slaves of each new paradox.'

6 μάλιστα μὲν, 'if possible.'

ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι . . . τῇ γνώμῃ. τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι stands rather loosely for speakers of ἄτοπα καὶ καινά. τῇ γνώμῃ is governed by ἀκολουθῆσαι, and refers to 'the meaning of the speakers.' The rivalry is displayed by understanding and praising the speaker's words almost before they are uttered. Translate 'engaging in eager rivalry with such speakers not to appear backward to follow their meaning.'

προεπαίνεσαι depends either on δοκεῖν or directly on ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, 'to praise almost before it is uttered.' δξέως with λέγοντος.

καὶ προαισθῆσθαι . . . ἀποβησόμενα. πρόθυμοι εἶναι depend on δοκεῖν or on ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, 'and to be eager to apprehend what is said before it is out, but slow to foresee its practical consequences.' The sense would be better without εἶναι.

- 7 ζητοῦντίς τε . . . ζῶμεν, 'and ever hankering after something better than the world we live in.' ὡς εἰπεῖν apologizes for too harsh an expression. Plato and Demosthenes use ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν.

ἀπλῶς, 'in a word.'

σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς . . . καθήμενοις, 'like spectators sitting to hear a display of sophists.' It was at the close of this summer that the sophist Gorgias came to Athens.

- 39 *The Mytilenaeans revolted without provocation, and after receiving only kindness from Athens. Their own prosperity and Athenian indulgence intoxicated them and drove them to the wildest schemes. Nobles and commons are equally guilty, and if they go unpunished, it will encourage others of our allies to revolt if they see the risk is little and the possible gain is great. You have everything to lose by such revolts.*

- 1 μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν. εἰς is often so used to strengthen a superlative. 'That the Mytilenaeans have injured you more than did ever any one city.'

- 2 οὔτινες μὲν μὴ describes a general class, so the negative is μὴ. The third οὔτινες refers plainly to the Mytilenaeans, so the negative is οὐ.

ἐν ᾧ καί, 'while even on this element.' αὐτοί, 'unaided.'

τί ἄλλο . . . ἢ . . . ἐπανάστησαν. τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν is an elliptical expression for τί ἄλλο ἐποίησαν ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν. ἐπανάστησαν, 'rebelled against you.' Cf. I. 115. 5 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανάστησαν.

ἀπόστασις . . . ἐστίν. μὲν γε throws a strong emphasis on ἀπόστασις. The δέ clause can easily be supplied in thought. 'A revolt (whatever an ἐπανάστασις may imply) implies tyrannical oppression.' These were rebels, not seceders.

ἡμᾶς. For position cf. note on 3. 10. 5.

καίτοι, here 'and indeed.'

ἢ εἰ . . . ἀντεπολέμησαν, 'than if they had made war upon us by themselves alone *in the effort to win power*.'

- 3 παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῖς . . . παρέσχεν. Notice the change of intention which breaks the original form of the sentence and introduces an anacoluthon.

καὶ ἐλπίσαντες. Note the tense, 'and having formed hopes beneath their wishes if above their power.'

- 4 εἶωθε δὲ . . . ἔλθῃ. The subject of εἶωθε is εὐπραγία. The relative sentence must mean 'to whom in the greatest degree and with the briefest notice unexpected prosperity comes.' The scholiast explains δι' ἐλαχίστου, ἐξαίφνης. αἰς for τὰς αἰς.

τὰ δὲ πολλὰ . . . παρὰ δόξαν. The scholiast explained τὰ πολλὰ as an adverbial accusative 'for the most part.' If that is so, κατὰ λόγον εὐτυχοῦντα must be equivalent to τὰ κατὰ λόγον εὐτυχοῦντα. But τὰ πολλὰ is no doubt a nominative, although we must translate 'as a rule ordinary good fortune is safer for men than unexpected good fortune.'

- 5 διαφερόντως. The best MSS. read διαφέροντας which must be taken predicatively; 'ought to have been honoured by us so as not to differ from the others.' M has διαφερόντως which is more in accordance with Thucydidean usage.

καὶ οὐκ ἔν, 'and then they would not have.'

καὶ ἄλλως. ἄλλως = *alioqui* and so *omnino*, 'it is the prevailing characteristic of mankind.'

- 6 κολασθήτωσαν is the MSS. reading, but inscriptions show that this form belongs to the Macedonian period. It has rightly been replaced by κολασθέντων.

ὑμῖν γε. Whatever their internal dissensions they at least united in attacking you.

οἷς γ' ἐξήν. οἷς γε (*quibus*) grammatically has for its antecedent πάντες, but the writer is really thinking only of the democratical party who are also the subject of *ξυναπέστησαν* exclusively. 'Who, if they had turned to us, might now have been restored to their rights as citizens.'

- 7 ἀναγκασθεῖσιν must be taken predicatively with ἀποστᾶσι, 'who revolted under compulsion.'

τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ. τίνα ὄντινα οὐ really forms a single expression. It is attracted for τίς ἐστὶν ὄντινα οὐκ οἴεσθε. οἴεσθε resumes σκέψασθε.

- 8 ἤμιν . . . ἀποκεκινδυνεύσεται. The future perfect is really a perfect transferred to the future. It denotes here that at a future time something will be found to have been done ; 'we shall find that we have risked.'

τυχόντες, 'if we succeed.'

τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου . . . τὸ λοιπὸν στερήσεσθε, 'of the revenues which it would supply in the future—the revenues to which we owe our strength—you will for the future be deprived.' The phrase is pleonastic and also inexact, for the antecedent of the relative clause δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν is τῆς προσόδου not τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου. But there are no sufficient grounds for the correction ἐπετείου.

πολεμίους. Understand αὐτοὺς from πόλιν, 'we shall have them as enemies.'

- 40 *These men must receive no compassion, nor must you listen to the ingenious arguments of those who have been bribed to defend them. Expediency and justice alike call for their punishment. To acquit them is to condemn your own rule. If they had been victorious they would have had no compassion for you. Let the allies be taught a memorable lesson of the consequence of revolting.*

- 1 οὐκ οὖν δεῖ . . . λήψονται. These words refer to c. 38. 2, where it is said that the opponents of the massacre will either rely on their power of speech to prove a paradox, or will be bribed (ἢ τῷ λέγειν πιστεύσας . . . ἢ κέρδει ἐπαιρόμενος). Cleon retorts—'we must not hold out a hope warranted (made πιστή) by eloquence or that is to be purchased by bribes.' Cleon no doubt uses πιστήν in recollection of his former words, though another word would have given a clearer meaning. Others take πιστήν actively, 'a hope trusting in eloquence.' Cf. I. 68. I τὸ πιστὸν . . . τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας, and Soph. O. C. 1031 ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτφ σὺ πιστὸς ὧν ἔδρας τάδε. But the meaning is not so clear. Others take πιστήν as equivalent to πειστήν, 'to be won by persuading,' imagining it to take the place of a verbal adjective form which the Greeks did not use. ποριστήν has also been conjectured. With ὠνητήν the proper substantive is obviously not the hope but the safety hoped for, but Thucydides

has been influenced both by a desire to recall Cleon's former words and by the temptation of making his sentence symmetrical in sound and structure. For *προθεῖναι*, which gives the best sense, the best MSS. read *προσθεῖναι*, 'add.'

ὡς ξυγγνώμην . . . λήψονται. This is usually explained 'that they will find an excuse in the fact that they have sinned as man will sin.' *ἀμαρτεῖν* being the accusative in apposition to *ξυγγνώμην*. But the infinitive *ἀμαρτεῖν* follows *ξυγγνώμην λήψονται*, an expression equivalent to a single verb, 'will be pardoned for sinning.' The construction is a natural extension of such expressions as *ξυγγνωμόν ἐστι ποιεῖν*.

ξύγνωνμον, 'pardonable,' an unusual meaning.

- 2 καὶ τότε πρῶτον. Understand *διεμαχασάμην*. *μὴ μεταγνῶναι* obviously cannot be supplied with this verb. *μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν* would be more appropriate.

τρισί. The instrumental dative. It marks the motive of the error. *ἐπιαικέα*, 'long-suffering.'

- 3 ἔλεός τε. The speaker proceeds to deal with the three motives which are so destructive to empire. But he employs new words.

πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους. To those who are situated as we are, not to subjects who must always be our foes.

ἔξουσιν καὶ . . . ἀγῶνα, 'will find a field for their talents in other less important issues.'

μή. He uses the negative of prohibition under the influence of the prohibition which is implied in the sentence.

αὐτοὶ δὲ . . . ἀντιλήψονται, 'while they themselves will get "for a good speech a good fee"' (Jowett), i. e. they would be rewarded by the Mytilenaeans.

ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, 'friendly,' i. e. faithful allies.

πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους . . . ὑπολειπομένους. *ὁμοίους*, the reading of the MSS., could only mean 'what they were before,' which is then explained by *καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν πολεμίους*. A tempting conjecture is *ὁμοίως*. The pleonasm would be very Thucydidean.

- 4 δικαιώσεσθε here used in the Herodotean sense 'condemn,' 'punish.' This use of the word is occasioned by the preceding *τὰ δίκαια ποιήσετε*.

ὅμεις ἂν . . . ἀρχοιτε. After the positive protasis we should naturally expect a positive apodosis. And in fact the optat. with *ἂν* is constantly equivalent to an indicative of some kind. Here *ὅμεις*

ἀν οὐ χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε is equivalent to οὐκ ἄρα χρή ὑμᾶς ἄρχειν. 'You must be wrong in holding empire.' The indicative sentence is suggested by χρεὼν. Cf. i. 38. 4 and Forbes' note.

χρεὼν. Accusative absolute.

εἰ καὶ οὐ προσήκον, 'if rightly or wrongly,' identical in meaning with παρὰ τὸ εἰκός. οὐ not μή because οὐ προσήκον form one word.

τοῦτο δρᾶν, 'to maintain your rule.'

παρὰ τὸ εἰκός . . . κολάζεσθαι, 'then rightly or wrongly these too must be punished for your benefit.' This isolated τοι only occurs in two other passages in Thucydides in 2. 41. 4 and 7. 77. 2. It always introduces some emphatic asseveration.

ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου is an adverbial expression like ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλούς, ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, 'practise virtue without danger.'

- 5 τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ. τε 'and so.' τῇ αὐτῇ, 'with the punishment decreed yesterday.' Others 'with the punishment they would have inflicted upon you.' Cf. τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἀμύνεσθαι.

μὴ ἀναληγτότεροι, 'no less sensitive,' i.e. just as ready to resent injury. οἱ διαφεύγοντες, 'you who are securing your escape from them.'

- 6 μάλιστα δὲ οἱ . . . διολλύναι. This sentence illustrates προὔπαρξαντας ἁδικίας. Translate 'those who with no reasonable grounds injure others, pursue their vengeance even to the utter destruction of their enemy.' Cf. Tac. Agric. 42 'proprium humani ingeni est odisse quem laesis.' For the infinitive cf. 3. 2. 2. note on τελεσθῆναι. The MSS. read διόλλυνται which has been explained (1) pursue their vengeance to their own destruction; (2) as a middle verb with an active meaning; (3) taking it with ὑφορώμενοι, 'cannot live suspecting.' All are equally improbable.

δ γὰρ μὴ . . . ἐχθροῦ. Compression has made this sentence a little obscure. But if we consider the context it is probable that Thucydides has in mind the difference between a sovereign state which has been assailed on no just grounds (μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθών), such as great tyranny would afford, and one that stands on an ordinary footing of equality. Translate 'for he who is wronged without cause is more dangerous, if he escapes, than the enemy who stands upon equal terms.' Others take it more simply, 'he who is injured without cause is more dangerous, if he escapes, than the enemy who has only suffered what he has inflicted.'

- 7 γενόμενοι δ' . . . τοῦ πάσχειν. Literally 'having got in imagination as near as possible to suffering,' i. e. letting your imaginations carry you as near as possible to the moment of suffering the injury.

Cf. I. 143. 5 καὶ νῦν χρή ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας.

καὶ ὥς, 'and (imagining) how.'

ἀν ἐτιμήσασθε. 'You would have valued.'

ἀνταπόδοτε. Absolutely, 'take vengeance.'

αὐτίκα. Stands in sharp opposition to τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος ποτέ δεινοῦ. We should expect πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα παρόν, but cf. τὸ παθεῖν εὖ. Some take it with μαλακισθέντες. Others with ἀνταπόδοτε.

τούτους τε. The trajected τε marks a change of intention on the writer's part. He varies the construction in the second half of the sentence.

ζημωσόμενον. The participle after an expression (σαφὲς καταστήσατε) practically equivalent to ἀποδείξατε. Cf. 3. 67. 6 ποιήσατε παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων.

τόδε γάρ. Thucydides and Herodotus do not follow the Attic prose writers in their use of ὅδε, τοιόσδε, τοσόσδε. Here, e. g., τόδε refers to the past.

It is Cleon's rôle to pose as the champion of the established order against those who would endeavour to rescind the formal resolutions of the state, whom he describes in language that may often have been applied to himself and to politicians of his class. Grote notices that he had the advantage of addressing himself to the prevalent sentiment of the moment, so that it was easy for him to represent his opponents as clever sophists, opposed to downright common sense (the sentiment of the moment), who showed their talents in making the worse appear the better cause.

- 42 Diodotus approves the re-opening of the question. Passion and precipitancy are the chief foes of good counsel, and no one but a simpleton or an interested party would object to debate which throws light on the unseen future. The imputation of dishonest motives stifles the expression of opinion, and the state is the loser. Success or failure in speaking should not carry reward or punishment. Thus all would speak their real minds without hope or fear.

- I τοὺς μεμφομένους μή, 'those who warn us reproachfully not to.'

- γίγνεσθαι, 'to show itself.'
 ἀπαιδευσίας, 'ill-breeding.'
- 2 ἡ ἰδίᾳ . . . διαφέρει, 'or he has some personal interest.'
 τι αἰσχρὸν πείσαι, 'to *carry* some disgraceful resolution.'
- 3 χαλεπώτατοι δὲ . . . ἐπίδειξιν τινα. Most of the MSS. read *προσκατηγοροῦντες*, which gives the rather weak sense 'who make a further charge.' Probably the right reading is preserved by C *προκατηγοροῦντες*, 'who before the adversary has spoken bring a charge.' He refers to Cleon's remarks in c. 38. *ἐπὶ χρήμασιν* belongs to *ἐπίδειξιν*. Translate 'far the most formidable are those others (καί) who, before their adversary has spoken, bring a charge that he will make a display of eloquence for money.'
 ἀπεχώρει. From the debate.
 τε, 'and so.'
- 4 πεισθῆεν ἄν. The subject is οἱ πολῖται, the change to the plural being due to the intervention of τῶν πολιτῶν.
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, 'in fair debate.'
- 5 τὴν δὲ σὺν φρόνα πόλιν . . . ἀτιμάζειν. ἀλλὰ μὴδέ in the first case = 'but neither'; in the second, 'but not even.' τε . . . καί = 'as' . . . 'so.' The object of ἐλασσοῦν is τὸν εὖ βουλευόντα. Note the phrase τυχεῖν γνώμης, 'to carry one's opinion.' It occurs in the late historians. Translate 'and for the wisely ordered state, as it should not bestow fresh honour on him who gives it most good counsel (but neither should it detract from the honour which is his already), so it should not only visit with no penalty but it should not even discredit the man who has not been fortunate with his advice.'
- 6 ὁ κατορθῶν, 'he whose advice prevails.'
 παρὰ γνώμην, 'contrary to his real opinion.'
 πρὸς χάριν, 'to please.'
 ὃ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχῶν . . . τὸ πλῆθος. With ὀρέγοιτο supply ἦκιστ' ἄν. χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτός, which must be taken close together, describe τῷ αὐτῷ more fully. Translate 'while he who fails would be least desirous to conciliate the multitude by the same means, i.e. by himself too seeking to gratify it in some respect.'

- 43 *As things are, good and bad advisers alike are compelled to resort to deceit, and it is impossible to serve the country frankly and openly. The fact is that you are far too clever. If you punish the man who gives bad advice, you should also punish yourselves for following it. Then your judgements would be more moderate.*

1 κέρδους μὲν . . . λέγειν, 'to give good advice though prompted by hope of gain.'

φθονήσαντες . . . κερδῶν. The expression φθονεῖν κέρδους is usual, and of this our phrase is an intelligible extension. It is really equivalent to φθονήσαντες τῶν κερδῶν οὐ βεβαίως δοξάντων, 'being seized with jealousy for the unsubstantiated suspicion of corruption.'

2 καθίστηκε δὲ τὰγαθά, 'and the result is that good advice.'

ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθείως, 'in a straightforward manner.'

ψευσάμενον πιστὸν γενίσθαι, 'to win credit by falsehood.' Note the oxymoron.

3 μόνην τε πόλιν, 'and so a state only,' as opposed to an individual.

διὰ τὰς περινοίας. περίνοια is not found elsewhere in classical Greek. It means an 'excess of acuteness' that is not satisfied with a plain comprehension of a thing. The plural indicates the constant occurrence of the quality. The word is formed on the analogy of περιουσία, περιεργία, περιτέχνησις. In Aristoph. *Frogs* 958, we have ἅπαντα περινοεῖν.

ἀνθυποπτεύεται, 'is suspected for his pains;' literally, 'in requital,' a rare word.

πῃ, 'in some way.'

4 καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦν τι. Such is the reading of A F B M, and it is obviously the right reading. With ἀξιοῦν the subject is ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε = 'even under such circumstances,' i.e. although such is your custom. Some MSS. have ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἀξιοῦντι, which some editors adopt comparing such expressions as ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι, 'in the want of practice.' But we never find the participle as here qualified by an adjective (τοιῷδε).

πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα, 'in dealing with the highest interests.'

τῶν δι' ὀλίγου σκοπούντων, 'whose view is circumscribed.' Cf. 7. 71 δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ οὐσης τῆς θέας. τι might be taken with περαιτέρω or προνοούντας.

ἄλλως τε καὶ . . . ἀκρόασιν. πρὸς, 'compared with.' ἀνεύθυνον for ἀνυπεύθυνον, so found in Herodotus. ἀκρόασιν, the following of advice. 'Especially as we stand accountable for the advice we give, but you are not accountable for the heed you pay it.'

- 5 ὁ πείσας, 'he who carries a proposal.'

νὺν δέ, 'but as it is.'

πρὸς ὀργὴν . . . τύχητε. With τύχητε understand ζημιούντες, and with ἦντινα repeat πρὸς. 'Under the influence of the passion under which you happen to be punishing.' The omission of ἀν is an epic construction fairly common in tragedy. Cf. 4. 17. 2 οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι.

ἔστιν ὅτε with ζημιοῦτε.

εἰ ξυνέξημαρτον. Expresses a real case in a hypothetical form. Translate 'as it is there are times when, in failure, under the influence of the passion that takes you, you punish the single voice of him who convinced you, and not your own votes, that, being many, they erred with him.'

- 44 *I am not concerned with the justice of the case. I do not know how to draw up an indictment against a nation. I am on the ground of expediency, and the question is—how can we turn the Mytilenaeans to account? Cleon says that if you put them to death it will stop revolt among your allies.*

- 1 εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, 'if we are sensible people.'

- 2 ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς . . . φαίνοντο. The MSS. read ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντες . . . εἶεν, which involves the anomaly of ἦν with the optative. Most editors correct to ἔχοντας and supply ἀποφώνω with ἦν, 'and if I show them to be in any way worthy of pardon.' What then is εἶεν? Some suppose it to mark an aposiopesis, a conclusion too harsh to be uttered, such as 'may that pardon not be granted, if it should not appear good for the city.' Others write εἶαν, which is perhaps the most plausible correction, repeating οὐ κελεύσω, 'nor, if I show they are in some way worthy of pardon, shall I bid you spare them if it should not appear good for the city.' Others, εἶαν οἰκεῖν from chapter 48. 1.

- 3 καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα . . . γινώσκω. This sentence as it stands is not grammatical, as τοῦτο is left ungoverned. For (1) it cannot be

governed by ἀντισχυρίζομενος, which means 'asserting this in opposition' (not 'contesting this point'); (2) τοῦτο δ cannot be equivalent to 'quod ad id attinet quod,' as there is no authority for such a construction. It is probable that Thucydides started with the intention of writing some verb in the second half of the sentence in the sense of 'contesting,' but altered his mind, and so left τοῦτο in a vague grammatical relation. An easy alteration is τοῦτου governed by τάναντία γινώσκω, but there is no MSS. authority for the correction.

With ἀφίστασθαι understand τὰς πόλεις. προθείσι must be taken closely with ξυμφέρον ἔσσεσθαι, and answers to our infinitive. Translate 'as to the point on which Cleon most strongly insists, that it will be useful for diminishing rebellion in the future if you hold out the penalty of death, I am of the contrary opinion, insisting on my view as strongly as he, in regard to the welfare of the future.'

4 πρὸς, 'considered in the light of.'

τῶν δικαίων, 'grounds of right.' Grote compares Burke: 'It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.'

χρησίμως, sc. ἡμῖν.

45 *But all communities have the death penalty for crimes less heinous than this, yet no individual or state when incited by hope is deterred by the fear of punishment. For mankind has many inducements to error, and it has never yet been found that death acts as a deterrent when any human passion excites men to enterprise. There is always the hope that Fortune will be kind.*

I πολλῶν, 'for many offences'; or we may take ἀμαρτημάτων here.

θανάτου ζημία πρόκεινται. ζημία is the reading of most MSS. θανάτου is the genitive of description, 'the death penalty,' like τέλος θανάτου. ἀμαρτημάτων. The genitive of the crime to which the penalty is affixed. Both genitives stand in an adjectival relation to ζημία.

καταγνοῦς . . . ἐπιβουλεύματι, 'having passed sentence upon him-

self that his hostile design would fail.' τῷ ἐπιβουλεύματι. Instrumental dative.

- 2 πόλις τε, 'and so also a state.' In this emphatic position πόλις has almost the meaning of a partitive genitive.

ἥσσω . . . παρασκευήν, 'having its force insufficient in its own belief,' i. e. believing its force to be insufficient.

ἄλλων ξυμμαχίᾳ. An instrumental dative, playing the part of an adjective, and balancing οἰκείαν, 'whether native or resting on foreign alliance.'

τούτῳ, sc. τῷ ἀφίστασθαι.

- 3 προστιθέντες εἰ πως, sc. αὐτάς, 'ever inflicting (note tense) fresh penalties in the hope that.' For εἰ cf. 3. 4. 4.

ἀδικημάτων, depends on αὐτάς, sc. τὰς ζημίας.

παραβαينوμένων δὲ . . . ἀνήκουσιν. With παραβαينوμένων we might understand τῶν ζημιῶν, but it is better to take the participle as a neuter impersonal. Cf. 1. 7. 1 πλωϊμωτέρων θυγῶν. ἀνήκουσιν. An Herodotean word, unusual in Attic. Translate 'but as transgressions took place, in course of time the greater part was stretched to capital punishment.'

καὶ τοῦτο ὁμῶς παραβαίνεται. τοῦτο must refer to τὸν θάνατον and mean the death penalty. παραβαίνεται will then bear the meaning it afterwards bears in Demosthenes, 'is disregarded.' Cf. Dem. 24 παραβὰς τὸν χρόνον τὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων. No such meaning of the verb is to be found in Thucydides, and editors have suggested καὶ τούτῳ, 'and even under these conditions,' and ταῦτα, 'and even so these crimes are committed.'

- 4 δῖος, 'deterrent.'

ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πενία . . . κινδύνους. πενία, ἐξουσία, αἱ ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι are the external circumstances which give the impulse to rash enterprises. τόλμα, πλεονεξία, ὀργή are the passions which lead to the execution of the enterprise. ἐξουσία, 'fullness of means,' works by πλεονεξία, πενία by τόλμα, and αἱ ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι, 'the other conditions of life,' comprehend all other cases by a general description, the passion that corresponds to τόλμα and πλεονεξία being denoted by the quite general word ὀργή. ἀνάγκη, ὕβρις καὶ φρονηματί are the more immediate motives that work in the first two cases. Some editors wish to write ὀργήν to correspond exactly to τόλμαν and πλεονεξίαν, but it is like Thucydides to change his phrase and

substitute the instrumental dative for the participial clause. τῶν ἀνθρώπων to be taken with ὄργη is certainly awkward, but the conjecture τὸν ἀνθρώπων which supplies an object to ἐξάγουσιν is forbidden by the order of the words. Could τῶν ἀνθρώπων be taken with αἱ ξυντυχίαι? Some editors conjecture ὡς ἐκάστη, 'as in each a man is mastered by,' but ἐκάστη τις naturally hang together and refer to ξυντυχίαι. With ἐξάγουσιν we must supply an object. Translate 'but poverty inspiring daring by necessity, and abundance inspiring avarice by insolence and pride, and the other conditions of life—as they are mastered severally by some mighty and insatiable motive—by the agency of human passion incite men to danger.'

- 5 ὁ μὲν . . . ἐφεπομένη. Desire gives the first impulse and wakens hope.

ἐπιβουλήν is the reading of M, but the other MSS. have ἐπιβολήν, a word which the scholiast seems to have read in I. 93. 6, instead of the ἐπιβουλὰς of the MSS. ἐπιβάλλεσθαι τι is used meaning to 'undertake,' and Thucydides has so many *hapax legomena* that we may reasonably hesitate to alter the reading of most MSS. Translate 'desire planning the attempt, and hope suggesting the facility of fortune.'

- 6 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, 'even with insufficient means,' goes closely with κινδυνεύειν.

ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων τε. With ὅσον Thucydides often omits μάλλον or μάλιστα. Most MSS. omit τε, and we must understand κινδυνεύουσι with ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. C has τε, by which περὶ τῶν μεγίστων is coupled with μετὰ πάντων, and must be taken with ἐδόξασεν. The τε looks like a correction, and without it the sense is better. αὐτόν is a certain emendation of the MSS. unmeaning αὐτῶν. ἐδόξασεν, gnomic aorist. τι, 'considerably.' Translate 'inasmuch as they are playing for the highest stakes, freedom or empire over others, and every one, when acting with the community, thinks far more highly of himself than he reasonably ought to think.'

- 7 ἀπλῶς τε . . . δανῶ, 'and in a word it is impossible and a huge simplicity to think that, when human nature is eagerly bent on some enterprise, one has any deterrent in the force of laws or in any other terror.' πολλῆς εὐθείας, 'it belongs to, is the mark of much simplicity.'

46 *Do not then trust to the death penalty or lead your rebels to suppose that their fault is unpardonable, and that there is no room for repentance. For such an idea will make them resist to the death, and when you have subdued them you will suffer loss in that you both will be exhausted by the struggle. Prevention is better than cure; but if you must punish, punish as few as possible.*

- 1 ὥς ἐχεγγύφ. As giving security for the behaviour of the other states.

ὥς οὐκ ἔσται. οὐκ is pleonastic.

ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ for ἐν ὅτι βραχυτάτῳ, 'in the shortest possible time.'

- 2 νῦν μὲν, 'as things are now': answered by ἐκείνως δέ.

ἤν τις καὶ ἀποστᾶσα πόλις, 'if any state, even when it has actually revolted.'

τὴν δαπάνην. 'The war indemnity.'

τίνα ἤντινα οὐκ. See note on 3. 39. 7.

παρασκευάσεσθαι. The MSS. read the aorist, but cf. note on 3. 24. 1. The future is no doubt right.

παρτενείσθαι ἐς τοῦσχατον, 'to be brought to the last extremity': cf. Aristoph. Clouds 213 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν παρετάθη. Plat. Symp. 207 B τῷ λιμῷ παρτείνεσθαι.

εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ . . . ξυμβῆναι, 'if a tardy and a quick surrender come to the same thing.'

- 3 τῷδε, 'in revenue.'

- 4 ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσας, 'strong in respect of wealth': an expression which occurs several times in late Greek writers.

τῶν ἔργων, 'our administration.'

- 6 ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον for ἐπὶ ὅτι ἐλάχιστον, 'to the smallest possible number of persons.'

47 *Above all how impolitic to punish the commons of Mytilene who never joined in the revolt, and surrendered to you the city. At present the commons in every state are your friends; if you alienate them they will in all cases revolt with the oligarchs. I would even advise you to wink at any fault they may have committed.*

- 1 τοῦτο, 'in this point.'

- 4 μη προσποιεῖσθαι, 'to pretend they did not': sc. ἀδικῆσαι αὐτούς.
 5 τὴν κάθειν, 'the maintenance': a word peculiar to Thucydides
 and late writers.

καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος . . . γίνεσθαι. This refers to 3. 40. 4 πειθόμενοι
 μὲν ἐμοὶ τὰ τε δίκαια ἐς Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε. τὸ
 αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον is exegetical of τὸ Κλέωνος: 'Cleon's state-
 ment, i. e. the identity of justice and expediency in their punishment,
 is found not to be possible if this course be taken.' ἐν αὐτῷ refers
 back to διαφθεῖραι, and is pleonastic after τῆς τιμωρίας.

- 48 *I would advise you then to punish the guilty whom Paches has
 sent to Athens and to leave the rest to live in peace.*

- I τὰδε, 'my proposals.' πλέον νείμαντες. Cf. 3. 3. 1.
 οὐδέ, 'no more than Cleon.'

ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινουμένων, 'judging merely by the arguments
 urged.' The phrase is opposed by δὲ τὸ πλέον νείμαντες, as though
 it corresponded grammatically. καθ' ἡσυχίαν, 'dispassionately.'

- 2 πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους might be taken either with βουλεύεται or with
 κρείσσων ἐστίν.

μετ' ἔργων ἰσχύος must be taken together.

This remarkable speech anticipates some of the arguments that
 have been used in modern times by the advocates of the abolition
 of capital punishment. Grote remarks that Diodotus discards all
 appeals to pity and to justice, and rests his argument upon reasons
 of public prudence. He feels that the prevailing sentiment is or
 has been against him, and that he must appeal to the reason of his
 audience.

- 49 *The Athenians decide to revoke their decree, and a second trireme
 is sent to catch the first. It is only just in time.*

- I ἐντιπάλων is predicative. It might mean 'opposed' or 'of equal
 weight.' The first is the common meaning of the word, but the
 second makes better sense. Translate 'when these opinions had
 been delivered of almost (μάλιστα) equal weight.'

ἄμω, 'in spite of the reaction against the decree.' If the correction
 ὁμοίως were adopted it would mean that the Athenians were as
 divided in their votes as the speakers had been in their speeches.
 But the MSS. give good sense.

ἀγχώμαλοι. A word peculiar to Thucydides and late writers.

- 2 τῆς προτέρας. The MSS. read δευτέρας. The only possible way of translating it is to take μή out of its place. 'In order that by the second arriving first they may avoid finding.' But προτέρας is required to supply a subject for προείχε. It is difficult to account for the corruption.

- 4 ἀλλόκοτον, 'unnatural.' Unusual in Attic and of uncertain derivation.

τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀνεγνωκέναι, 'by just so much as for him to have read.' Cf. 1. 2. 2 νεμόμενοι τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν. The infinitive depends naturally on the idea of sufficiency expressed by the preceding words.

ἢ δ' ὅστερα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται. ὅστερα αὐτῆς must be taken together predicatively. ἐπι- is pleonastic. 'But the other put into land after it.'

παρὰ τοσοῦτον . . . ἦλθε κινδύνου. This is the same παρὰ that is used to express comparison and difference. παρὰ τοσοῦτον means 'by so much difference or distance,' i. e. 'by so short a difference from.' The thing from which the distance is is put in the genitive, probably the ablative genitive, or it might be the same genitive we find after ἐγγύς, πλησίον. Instead of a genitive we sometimes find an infinitive, cf. 8. 33. 3 παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μὴ περιπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. κινδύνου, 'the last extremity.' Perhaps we have here a mixture of two constructions, ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἦλθεν ἢ Μυτιλήνη and παρὰ τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἀπώλετο ἢ Μ.

- 50 *The Athenians execute the chief authors of the revolt, and parcel out Lesbos (with the exception of Methymna) into cleruchies. But the Lesbians continue to work the land themselves, and pay the Athenian owners a fixed rent. The Athenians also take forts on the mainland that belonged to Mytilene.*

- 1 ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους χιλίων. Cleon's party might have been satisfied with the severity of this barbarous execution which Thucydides, according to his custom, relates without comment. But it is to be hoped that the MSS. reading χιλίων is an error. Thucydides would hardly have named a thousand men as αἰτιώτατοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως.

- 2 κληρούχους ἀπέπεμψαν. The arrangement made here is not quite clear. We are told in one sentence that 2,700 cleruchs went to Lesbos to take up this land, and in the next that the Lesbian proprietors remained on their land paying rent to the Athenian owners. Perhaps these cleruchs went at first as a garrison, and returned when it was ascertained the island could be kept without them.

ταξάμενοι, 'having agreed to pay,' 'having accepted the assessment.' Cf. I. 99. 3 χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἰκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν.

τοῦ κλήρου ἑκάστου and τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ are both genitives that stand in an adjectival relation to δύο μνᾶς. In both cases the minae *belonged to* the lot and to the year.

51

The capture of Minoa by Nicias.

- 2 ἐβούλετο δὲ Νικίας . . . τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Hitherto the Athenians had been compelled to blockade the Megarian harbour from the opposite shore of Salamis. It was the wish of Nicias to capture Minoa that the Athenians might blockade Nisaea from that place (αὐτόθεν) which was a nearer point of vantage (δι' ἐλάσσονος).

τούς τε Πελοποννησίους . . . ἐσπλεῖν. The construction of these sentences is difficult. τούς τε Πελοποννησίους must be governed by the *sense* of φυλακὴν εἶναι, 'and he wished them to keep watch on the Peloponnesians that they should not secretly sail out from this place (i. e. from Nisaea) in expeditions of triremes, as indeed happened previously, and of privateers.' Then τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν . . . ἐσπλεῖν is added almost as an afterthought, depending on ἐβούλετο or φυλακὴν εἶναι, 'and he wished that nothing should be brought in by sea to the Megarians.'

Some editors adopt the correction πρὸς τε for τούς τε Πελοποννησίους which gives much the same sense in an easier construction, 'he wished them not only to keep guard on Megara but against the Peloponnesians.' οἷον καὶ . . . γεγόμενον. Supply ἦν. The allusion is to the attempt made by Brasidas on the Piraeus at the instigation of the Megarians. Cf. 2. 93.

- 3 ἔλων οὖν . . . τῆς ἡπείρου. The chief difficulty of this passage lies in the words ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας which *in sense* seem to belong to πρὸυχοντε, but *by position* would naturally be taken with ἔλων. Most editors

construe them with ἐλὼν, 'having taken first on the Nisaea side two projecting towers by engines from the sea,' but the meaning of this is not clear. To explain it, (a) some oppose to ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας the words τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου. The island, it is conjectured, lay along the coast, and opposite to Nisaea, or, as Thucydides says, 'on the Nisaea side,' there were two towers built out into the sea, perhaps from Nisaea itself, to close the passage. These towers Nicias assailed from the sea, and by taking them freed the passage into the channel. He then built a fortification at the other end of the channel on 'the part looking to the mainland,' where the island was nearer to the mainland and could be reached by troops.

(b) Others interpret ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας, 'on the side distant from Nisaea,' to which is contrasted τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, 'the other side of the island, that looked to the mainland.' The two towers are supposed to have been situated on Minoa, and Nicias is understood 'to have opened the approach to those parts of the island *which lay between the two towers.*' But it is very doubtful if ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας and τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου can bear such meanings.

(c) It is best, in spite of the order of the words, to take ἀπὸ τῆς Ν. with προύχοντε. Tr. 'Having taken first two towers projecting from Nisaea by engines from the sea, and having thus freed the entrance into the channel between the island and Nisaea, he fortified also the part by the mainland where it was possible for troops to be sent by a bridge, over shallow water, to the island, since it lay not far from the mainland.' For the elliptical ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου, meaning 'into the channel between the island and the mainland,' cf. Aristoph. Birds 187 ἐν μέσῳ δῆπουθεν ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς, where we supply καὶ οὐρανοῦ, Aeschyl. Choeph. 63 ἐν μεταυχμῷ σκότου, 'between darkness and light,' and Shilleto's note on Dem. de Fals. Leg. 181. For τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, 'the part looking to the mainland,' cf. i. 64. 1 τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. Minoa is now part of the mainland which makes the geographical difficulty harder to solve.

52 *The unconditional surrender of Plataea. The Plataeans plead their cause before five Spartan judges.*

1 πολιορκεῖσθαι, 'to endure the siege.'

2 προσέβαλλαν, sc. οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. The tense indicates the repeated attacks. Some MSS. read προσέβαλον, 'had attacked.'

εἰρημένον γάρ, sc. μὴ ελεῖν. They wished to acquire Plataea by voluntary surrender, so that, if ever a peace were made with Athens on terms of the mutual cession of places acquired in war, Plataea might remain in the possession of the Lacedaemonians as having come over to them of its own accord. Cf. 5. 17.

ἀποδίδοσθαι, passive. The subject of ξυγχωροῖεν is οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι.

ἀνάδοτος. A rare word.

αὐτῶν, 'of themselves.'

λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται . . . οὐδένα. It is usual to take the words εἰ βούλονται as giving the question indirectly, 'saying, are they willing to hand over the city to the Lacedaemonians and to use them as judges, and for them to punish the guilty, but no one unjustly?'

The alternative is to make εἰ βούλονται the protasis of a conditional sentence with the apodosis beginning at τοὺς τε ἀδίκους. We then have τε followed by δέ (unless we admit the conjecture τοὺς γε ἀδίκους) of which there are a few instances in Greek. κολάζειν must be a present with a future sense expressing the future action as already begun in their intention. Editors correct to κολάσσειν. The more usual future is κολάσεσθαι.

4 ἀγαθόν τι. The pleonastic τι is not impossible. In the repetition of the formula in c. 54 and c. 68 it does not occur.

5 προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν, 'having appointed as their spokesman.'

53 *We surrendered because we trusted you, but now we fear our confidence was misplaced. It seems we are brought to a trial already prejudged, and that you are sacrificing us to the animosity of the Thebans. Yet speak we must, that we may leave no stone unturned to secure our safety.*

The question had been framed so as to exclude all reference to events prior to the present war. But the speakers, in order to show the unfairness of the question, go further back and remind their judges (1) of the first alliance of Plataea with Athens, concluded at the recommendation of the Lacedaemonians themselves; (2) of the Persian war, with their own patriotism and the treason of the Thebans, and the great victory gained at Plataea by Pausanias, who dedicated that soil and buried his dead therein; (3) of the assistance they brought to the Spartans at the time of the revolt of

Ithome; (4) of the treacherous attack made by the Thebans at Plataea in time of truce.

The speech is more rhetorical and passionate than any other of the speeches invented by Thucydides, and the speakers are masters of the art of repeating the same points in different forms.

- I πιστεύσαντες, 'having gained confidence in you.'

καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς . . . φέρεσθαι. The MSS. read ἐν ἄλλοις to which it is objected that nowhere else in Thucydides do we find the preposition repeated with an attribute of the governed noun. ἐν is the forensic ἐν, 'in the court of,' 'before.' δεξάμενοι, 'since we chose,' cf. I. 143. 2 οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο . . . τὴν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν. ἡ ὑμῶν is probably correct; the pleonasm is like Thucydides. δεξάμενοι (or δεξάμενοι ἂν) is not co-ordinated with οἰόμενοι by καὶ but subordinated to ἡγούμενοι, giving the reason why they expected to win justice. καὶ joins οἰόμενοι with ἡγούμενοι. Reading ἐν, translate 'and thinking that by our choice to be tried by you (as indeed we are) and none other we should best secure justice.' Reading ἂν, 'and thinking we should best secure justice since we should not have chosen to be tried by others than yourselves.'

- 2 φοβούμεθα μὴ . . . ἡμαρτήκαμεν. In a clause that expresses the speaker's mind regarding an event, we should naturally expect a subjunctive or optative, but the indicative is preferred when the happening of the event is felt to be a matter of past fact.

τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὄν is coupled to προκατηγορίας οὐ προγεγενημένης as giving the grounds of the inference. Consequently βραχὺ ὄν must be the accusative absolute to which the speaker changes for the sake of variety, 'conjecturing this because no indictment has been preferred against us, and because the question is a brief one.'

φ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ . . . γίγνεται. τὰ ἀληθῆ is the subject of γίγνεται, and ἀποκρίνασθαι is the epexegetic infinitive, 'to which question the truth is damaging for answering, i. e. for an answer.' Cf. note on 3. 2. 2. Others make τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ἀποκρίνασθαι the subject of ἐναντία γίγνεται.

- 3 εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν. The whole stress falls on the participle. Cf. I. 20. 2 βουλόμενοι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι. Translate 'to speak *freely* if we must risk our lives.'

δ μὴ ρηθεὶς λόγος is equivalent to τὸ μὴ ῥηθῆναι τὸν λόγον. So in

- Latin *ademptus Hector* = 'the loss of Hector.' So we might say, 'the unspoken word.'

αἰτίαν . . . ὧς, 'a reason for self-reproach on the ground that.'

- 4 ἡ πειθώ, 'the means of persuading you.'

ἡμῶν belongs to τὰς ἀπετάς, and is put first for emphasis.

αὐτό, 'this inferiority.'

- 54 *We will remind you of our services to Greece and to yourselves—we fought at Artemisium and at Plataea, and we brought you aid at the time of the Helot revolt.*

- 1 πρὸς . . . ἐς, 'our defence against the Thebans and our appeal to you.'

ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια, 'the justification we possess.'

δεδραμένων. The form δεδρασμένων, found in nearly all the MSS., is very rare in Attic though it occurs in late prose. One inferior MS. preserves the Attic form δεδραμένων.

- 2 αὐτοὺς, 'that you yourselves.'

- 3 τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ. An adverbial (internal) accusative qualifying ἀγαθοὶ γεγενήμεθα.

- 5 ὅτεπερ δὴ, 'at the very moment when.'

μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν. The earthquake and revolt of the Helots, by which the Spartans were prevented from invading Attica, are related in Thuc. I. 101. τὸν σεισμόν, 'the well-known earthquake.'

ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, 'of our own citizens.'

- 55 *That we fell out with you subsequently was your own fault. You repulsed us when we sought your alliance and bade us turn to the Athenians. We could not desert them afterwards at your bidding. We were bound to them by gratitude and privileges. Yet we must not be blamed for what we did under orders from the leaders of our confederacy.*

- 1 δεομένων γὰρ . . . ἀπεώσασθε. Cf. 3. 13. 7 βοηθησάντων ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν προσλήψεσθε. So below where the influence of ὧς and the interposition of ἐγγὺς ὄντας causes the genitive absolute (ἀποικοιούντων) to be written instead of the nominative.

- 3 εἰ δὲ . . . οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν. οὐ not μή since εἰ = ὅτι.

ἄλλως τε καὶ . . . μετέλαβεν. τις = 'we.' Translate 'especially since for the good service they had done us, and by our own request we

secured their alliance and received a share in their civil rights.' Such rights were not the public rights of voting or being elected to office, but the private rights of intermarriage and of purchasing and inheriting land. This limited citizenship was called 'Plataean citizenship.'

- 4 ἀ δὲ ἑκότεροι . . . συμμάχοις. ἀ is the internal accusative. ἐξηγείσθαι, 'to give orders as Hegemones.' Translate 'but for the injunctions you severally lay upon the allies whom you lead.'

56 *In repelling the Theban invasion we only did what all men hold to be right. Do not allow your judgements to be warped by fear of their animosity. In the Persian wars they aided the invader, while we displayed patriotism that outweighs our present fault. Do not punish us for our disinterested attachment to Athens.*

- 2 ἑρομηνία is sometimes applied to a whole month, if the month is occupied entirely or mainly with a religious festival, sometimes as here to a particular day in the month.

- 3 εἰ γὰρ . . . λήψεσθε. If we keep the MSS. reading here we must translate, 'if you mean to interpret justice by the standard of your immediate interest and their hostility to us,' and suppose that one article is used to connect two different ideas, because the interests of the Lacedaemonians and the hostility of the Thebans here combined to produce the same effect, and were so far identical. The violent trajection of τε (omitted in one good MS.) may be due to a desire to oppose ὑμῶν and ἐκείνων as well as χρησίμῳ and πολέμῳ. The expression τὸ ἐκείνων πολέμιον is unusual. The correction πολεμίως would remove all difficulties from the sentence, 'if you interpret justice in a malevolent spirit, by the standard of your interest and theirs.' Cf. 4. 17. 3 λάβετε δ' αὐτοὺς (i. e. τοὺς λόγους) μὴ πολεμίως.

- 4 πολὺ goes with μάλλον, sc. ἤμεν.

- 5 τῆς νῦν ἀμαρτίας. This genitive, without a preposition repeated, after a verb compounded with ἀντί is rare.

μάλλον. Rather than blamed.

πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδον, 'in view of the invasion.'

αὐτοῖς, the reading of M only, is obviously required. It is to be taken with πράσσοντες. αὐτοῖς must refer to the Persians.

ἀσφαλεία = δι' ἀσφαλείας, cf. 3. 82. 4. 'Who did not endeavour to compass their own ends in safety.'

6 ὧν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι, 'although we formed part of these.'

7 ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, 'for the same sort of conduct.'

καίτοι χρή ταῦτα . . . καθιστῆται. The passage is an apology for Plataean faithfulness to Athens. They are kept grateful alike by gratitude and interest. (a) It is usually translated 'and yet we should show ourselves consistent in our judgments, and we should consider expediency to be merely this—when men feel enduring gratitude to good allies for their services and your own immediate interests to a certain extent are secured.' But ἔχουσι for ἔχη τις is intolerable, and the combination of a general with a particular statement in the same sentence is unusual. (b) Most editors adopt the correction ἔχουσι for ἔχουσι agreeing with ὑμῖν, 'when you feel lasting gratitude to good allies for their services, and at the same time your own immediate interests are to a certain extent secured.' Literally, 'the immediate present is so ordered as to be useful to you.' But the position of words is unusual. καί and πον show that to secure one's own immediate interest is less important than to be grateful.

57 *Your reputation for nobility is at stake. It is shameful that we, after all our sacrifices for the common cause, should be destroyed by you. We stand helpless and unaided, and our former services profit us nothing.*

1 ἀνδραγαθίας. More in the general sense of 'nobility.'

ἐπαινούμενοι δὲ . . . μεμπτῶν, 'but you are praised of men, and we, who stand at your bar, are of no mean repute.'

ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ . . . ἐπιγνῶναι. ἐπιγνῶναι usually means in Thucydides, 'to pass a new sentence.' Cf. 1. 70. 2 ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σφῆξιν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδέν. Here, however, no previous sentence had been passed, and the word must bear the meaning it has with late writers, 'pass a judicial sentence.' Translate 'beware lest men approve not that on brave men, though braver yourselves, you passed a disgraceful sentence.'

ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς. Such as those of Olympia and Delphi.

2 πανοικεσία. So written correctly, 'with all their houses.'

- 3 ἀπωλλύμεθα refers to the burning of Plateaea by the Persians, when the inhabitants were obliged to abandon the town at the approach of Xerxes.

ἐν ὑμῖν. Forensic ἐν, 'at your bar.'

Θηβαίων. Ablative genitive with a word of comparison. It denotes the point from which their inferiority (here) is separated.

τότε μὲν, 'before our surrender.'

εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν = *nisi tradidissemus*.

διαφθαρῆναι depends on the idea of ἐκινδυνεύομεν contained in ἀγῶνας ὑπέστημεν.

θανάτου δίκη κρίνεσθαι, 'to be tried in a trial for life or death.'

Cf. 8. 68. 2 θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος. The genitive stands in an adjectival relation to δίκη, specifying the nature of the trial. One important MS. omits δίκη. θανάτου will then be the genitive of price.

- 4 ἀτιμώρητοι, 'with none to succour us.'

58 *Relent and escape infamy by sparing us. We are not really your enemies, and moreover we whom you captured were captives entreating quarter and your constant benefactors. Bethink you of the tombs of your fathers consecrated in our land. Do not deprive of their worshippers the temples where they prayed for victory over the Persians.*

- I τήν τε δωρεάν . . . πρέπει. αὐτούς referring to the Thebans is the accusative after ἀνταπαιτῆσαι. ὑμᾶς is the subject of κτείνειν as is clear from οὓς μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει. Translate 'and we beg you, in return for our services, to ask a favour of them—that you should not kill men whom it dishonours you to kill.' Often, as here, the agent of the infinitive is not given in the form of the sentence, but must be conjectured from the context. In Hom. II. 9. 230 ἐν δοιῇ δὲ σωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι νῆας, νῆας is first object then subject of the infinitive. So much the infinitive retains of its character as an abstract noun.

σώφρονά τε . . . χάριν, 'with a pure gratitude from us instead of a disgraceful gratitude from them.'

κακίαν αὐτοῦς ἀντιλαβεῖν, 'acquire in return for yourselves a character for baseness.'

- 2 οὐκ ἐχθροὺς γὰρ . . . τιμωρήσεσθε, 'for we are not enemies whom it will be natural for you to punish.'
- 3 καὶ προνοοῦντες, sc. ἡμῶν, 'taking thought for us also,' or 'taking thought before you decide.'
- 4 ἐσθήμασι. There is doubt as to the meaning of this offering. Some suppose it refers to garments offered to the dead, and burnt at the tombs. Others see a reference to the purple robe donned by the Plataean chief magistrate on 'commemoration days.' It is impossible to decide with certainty.
- ἐκ φίλης χώρας. To be taken with ἐπιφέροντες.
- δαίχμοις. An Ionic word, only here found in Thucydides. δμαιχιία also occurs once.
- 5 αὐθίνταις, strictly 'those who murder with their own hands.' The allusion is to the alliance of the Thebans with the Persians against the other Greeks.
- ἱερά τε . . . ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἐρημοῦτε is a present. We have a present combined with a future in 2. 44. ἰ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι. ἐσσαμένων is referred to a present ἔζω. Some MSS. read ἐσσαμένων, which is the right Attic form. If we retain the Ionic ἐσσιμένων, we may suppose the archaism reflects some formulary, perhaps some customary prayer, here utilized by the Plataeans for purposes of effect. The construction of the sentence is not quite clear. Some render 'you are making desolate the shrines of the gods to which they prayed before they conquered the Mede, and you will take their ancestral sacrifices from those who founded and established them.' But more probably ἀφαιρεῖσθαι should be taken to mean 'deprive,' 'you will deprive our ancestral sacrifices of those who founded and established them.' This corresponds better with ἐρημοῦτε ἱερά.

59 *By your own fame and the common altars of the gods in Greece do not sacrifice us to our bitterest foes. We surrendered trusting to you. You should at least replace us where we were, and allow us to meet the danger that comes.*

- I ἐπικλασθῆναι . . . λαβόντας. The object of λαβόντας, which here = ὑπολαβόντας, is the general idea of the sentence—'our unhappy case.' Translate 'to let your hearts be softened regarding our

case with a reasonable compassion,' i.e. compassion that is not misled by passion or prejudice.

κατανοούντας is a second reading in C. The other MSS. read κατανοούντες.

τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς. Placed here by prolepsis. καὶ ἀναξίω, 'even though he deserve it not.' Translate 'and how incalculable it is on whom, however undeserving, misfortune may one day fall.'

- 2 θεοὺς τοὺς δημοβωμίους, might mean, 'who are worshipped by all the Greeks on the same altars,' i.e. at Olympia or Delphi; or 'who have altars in every Greek state.'

ἐπιβώμενοι, 'calling loudly on,' a word only found in the late historians.

πείσαι τᾶδε, after ἐπιβώμενοι, 'that we win you to this.'

προφερόμενοι. The asyndeton is due to the passion of the speakers. Many editors insert τε.

μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν. May (1) depend on ἰκέται γιγνόμεθα, or (2) follow προφερόμενοι ὅρκους expressing the end to which the action of those words is decided. Cf. 3. 2. 2 (note). If (1), we translate, 'adducing the oaths which your fathers swore, we supplicate you not to forget your fathers' tombs.' Or τάφων may be the genitive used by Herod. 6. 68 μετέρχομαι σε τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν, 'we supplicate you not to forget them (the oaths) by your fathers' tombs.' If (2), translate, 'adducing the oaths which your fathers swore to the end that you should not forget them, we supplicate you by your fathers' tombs. (2) is preferable.

ἡμέρας τε . . . ἐκείνης. Natural divisions of time are often found without the article.

ἧ τὰ λαμπρότατα . . . παθεῖν. The connexion here is a little hard, 'on which we did most gloriously with them, whereas now on this day we are like to suffer the direst fate.'

- 3 ὅπερ δὲ . . . λόγου τελευτᾶν. The infinitive is explanatory of ὅπερ. The genitive is put with τελευτᾶν on the analogy of the genitive with such words as λήγειν. The clause ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον anticipates and explains πανόμενοι λέγομεν. In translating we must amplify, 'and what is necessary and at the same time most difficult to men in this plight—that we do when we say in conclusion that,' cf. Plat. Symp. 220 ὁ πάντων θαυμαστότατον, Σωκρατῇ μεθύοντα οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐωράκει ἀνθρώπων.

τὸν ξυντυχόντα κίνδυνον, equivalent to *ὅς ἂν ξυντύχη κίνδυνος*, 'the first danger that offers.'

61 *The Thebans claim the right of answering the Plataeans.*

The Plataeans by speaking at length compel us to answer, and show the falseness of their allegations. They rejected our hegemony in early days, and revolted to the Athenians, in company with whom they did us much injury.

1 τὸ ἐρωτηθῆν. ἀποκρίνεσθαι, an intransitive verb, here takes a transitive meaning and construction.

καὶ ἡμα οὐδὲ ἡτταμένων, 'and at the same time too when they have not even been accused.'

πρὸς μὲν τὰ. The κατηγορία. τῶν δέ. The ἀπολογία. For the pronominal article cf. 3. 82. 7 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται.

2 ἔξω δὲ . . . τὰ πάτρια, 'but separated from the rest of the Boeotians, and violated their ancestral customs.' The speakers are referring to early history briefly related in Thuc. I. 12.

προσηναγκάζοντο, 'when force was used to compel compliance.'

62 *They refused to join the Persians only because the Athenians did the same. Afterwards they were the only Boeotians to aid the Athenians in their aggressions. We were compelled to medize by our government, which was a narrow oligarchy. Afterwards, under a constitutional government, we saved Boeotia in the battle of Coronea.*

1 οὐδ' Ἀθηναίους. Ordinary attraction for Ἀθηναῖοι.

2 τῇ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ, 'on the same principle,' to be taken with μόνους ἀπικίσαι. Cf. 6. 76. 3 τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ἐκεῖνά τε ἔσχον καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε νῦν πειρῶνται.

3 ἐν οἷῳ εἶδει, 'in what situation,' i. e. 'under what form of government.' εἶδος is opposed to ἰδέα expressing their outward circumstances as opposed to the inner circumstances of their action.

οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον. 'The term ἰσόνομος relates to the equality of all the citizens with one another, as far as relates to their private disputes and private injuries.'—Arnold. Cf. 2. 37. 1, where the same claim is made for the Periclean democracy. πολιτεύειν, 'to possess a certain form of government.' Translate 'the

constitution of our state at that time was not an oligarchy allowing to all citizens equality before the law.'

τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ. The superlative is partly due to a desire for a verbal antithesis, partly indicates that as a narrow oligarchy is the worst, so this in the eyes of a Theban is the very best form of government; i.e. 'the ideal of moderation.'

δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, 'a narrow clique of the influential class.'

- 4 αὐτῇ δυνεῖσθαι ὄν. The usual construction is δυνεῖσθαι τινί τι. Here the genitive is causal.

ὄν μὴ μετὰ νόμων ἤμαρτεν = τούτων ἂ ἐν ᾧ μὴ μετὰ νόμων ἦν ἤμαρτεν, 'for mistakes it committed when it had no constitution.' μὴ generalizes the relative clause.

- 5 γοῦν, 'introduces a reason for a foregoing statement, not absolutely conclusive but going some way to prove it.'—Forbes.

κατὰ στάσιν, 'owing to our dissensions.'

εἰ, 'if we did not.'

ἐν Κορωνείᾳ. In 447-6 the Athenians, as they returned from a successful attack on Chaeronea, were defeated at Coronea, and lost all hold on Boeotia.

- 63 *If they only joined the Athenians to get assistance against us, why did they aid them in attacking others? If the Athenians compelled them against their will, why did they not have recourse to the Peloponnesian League? But it was disgraceful to betray their benefactors. But there are some debts that can only be repaid with dishonour, and such was the debt the Plataeans owed the Athenians.*

- 1 ἀξιώτεροί, 'more worthy than we are.'

- 2 ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, 'to gain help against us.' Cf. 3. 55. 1. The possessive pronoun is put for the objective genitive.

τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, adverbial accusative with ἐπάγεσθαι, 'for defence against us.'

ὑπάρχον γε ὑμῖν, accusative absolute, 'since this was in your power,' i.e. μὴ ἐννεπιέναι.

εἰ τι καὶ ἄκοντες, 'even although you were to a certain extent coerced by the Athenians against your will.'

ἤδη γεγεννημένης, 'since the alliance already existed.'

προβάλλεσθε, 'advance in your defence.'

ικανή γε ἦν. The asyndeton is softened by γε, which introduces a reason that is intended to go some way to prove the previous statement. It is unnecessary to insert ἦ, or to read *ικανὴν γε ἡμᾶς*, or to adopt γάρ from one bad MS.

τὸ μέγιστον. An adverbial accusative standing in apposition to and explaining the content of the sentence.

παρέχειν, sc. ὑμῖν.

ἔτι belongs to *βιαζόμενοι*. There was compulsion once. Cf. 3. 55. I ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο.

3 δέ γε, 'yes but.'

καταπροδοῦναι, 'to betray utterly.'

τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ. By the figure Chiasmus τοὺς μὲν refers to Ἀθηναίους, τοὺς δέ to τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας, by which he understands the whole Peloponnesian league.

4 καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας . . . ἀποδιδόμενας. ὁμοίας is emphatic, and refers back to οὐκ ἴσθην. The form of the sentence is misleading if we render it literally. Thucydides means that it *is* disgraceful not to return kindness for kindness when that can be done honourably, it is not disgraceful not to return a kindness which can only be returned unjustly. So αἰσχροὺν really only belongs to the first part of the sentence. ἐς ἀδικίαν, 'with the result of injustice.' Note difference of tense in ὀφειληθείσας and ἀποδιδόμενας. The debt is certainly contracted, its repayment is still in question. μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι must be taken with both parts of the sentence.

64 *The Plataeans chose the Athenians then, let them fight the quarrel out with their assistance to-day. They must not appeal to the old Hellenic league, for they deserted that to aid Athenian aggression. Finally they rejected the proposal of neutrality before the investment of their city. The meaning of their former virtue has been explained by their subsequent history.*

I τε, 'and so.'

μόνοι, i. e. of the Boeotians.

ὑμεῖς δέ is an independent sentence, 'while you did not join the Persians because you wished to act with the Athenians and in opposition to the other Boeotians.' μόνοι conceals the word to

which *ὑμεῖς* is opposed and to which *τοῖς δέ* refers, viz. the other Boeotians. A good many MSS. read *ἡμεῖς δέ*, with a comma, which gives a simpler meaning and a more natural construction, 'because the Athenians did not join them either while we did.' *τοῖς δέ* then refers to the Thebans.

- 2 *ἀφ' ὧν . . . ὠφελείσθαι*. *ἀφ' ὧν* = *ἀπὸ τούτων* *ᾧ, ᾧ* an adverbial accusative with *ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένεσθε*. *ἀπὸ τούτων* is added pleonastically, perhaps to heighten the scorn the speaker intends to convey. Translate 'and now you claim to profit by virtuous conduct which was displayed for the sake of others.'

ξυναγωνίζεσθε, 'continue to fight on their side.'

- 3 *ξυγκατεδουλοῦσθε*, 'you were always ready to join them in enslaving.' The war of Athens and Aegina is related in 1. 105, 108.

τῶν ξυνομοσάντων, 'of those who had joined the original league.'

οὔτε . . . τε, 'not . . . but.'

τοὺς νόμους, 'the constitution.'

τὴν τελευταίαν τε. Postscript *τε*.

ἡμῶν is the reading of the best MSS. Others have *ὑμῶν* which will be the objective genitive, 'our appeal to you.'

ᾧστε, 'on the condition that.'

- 4 *οὔτινες*, 'seeing that you.'

ᾧ. Adverbial internal accusative.

οὐ προσήκοντα, 'to be foreign to your nature.'

ᾧ δὲ . . . ἀληθές, 'but the constant tendency of your disposition has been proved convincingly.' *ἐς τὸ ἀληθές* is an adverbial phrase expressing the effect of the verb. Cf. 3. 63. 4 *ἐς ἀδικίαν*. Thucydides uses *ἐς τὸ φανερόν*, *ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές* in the same adverbial way.

- 65 *They have no real grievance against us because we entered their city in time of peace, because we were invited by their leading citizens, who knew us for friends, not enemies.*

- 1 *ἱερομηνία*. All the MSS. here read *ἱερομηνίας* of which no satisfactory explanation has been given. Most editors correct to the singular, supposing that the mistake arose from the proximity of *σπονδαῖς*. So in 5. 27 *αἱ ξυμμαχίαί* follows *αἱ σπονδαί*.

- 2 *αὐτοί*, 'unprovoked.'

ἐς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ . . . καταστήσαι, 'to make you conform again to

the national institutions of all the Boeotians.' That *πάτρια* is the substantive is shown by the position of the article.

- 3 *πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι*. Staking more, i. e. 'having more to lose.'

φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως. If the reading is sound *οὐ πολεμίως* is due to a love of verbal antithesis. *φιλίους οὐ πολεμίους* has been conjectured, which supplies an object to *κομίσαντες*, and refers, as is required, to the feelings of the Thebans who were at peace with the Plataeans at the time. The conjecture receives some support from the opening sentence of the next chapter.

μηκέτι μάλλον γενέσθαι, sc. *χείρους*, in which the comparative idea is not prominent, 'wishing the baser among you not to grow worse.'

τῆς γνώμης, 'their principles' or 'their judgment,' strongly opposed to *τῶν σωμάτων*, the opposition being emphasized by the Chiasmus.

τῶν σωμάτων . . . ἄλλοτριούντες, 'not depriving the state of their persons.' *ἄλλοτριούν*, which usually means to 'estrangle,' is here used in a different sense for the sake of verbal antithesis to *οἰκειούντες*. In I. 40. 2 we have something similar, *μὴ ἄλλου ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερῶν*, 'not depriving another of his services.'

ἐς τὴν συγγένειαν οἰκειούντες, 'bringing them into a natural union with their kindred'—Jowett.

- 66 *And in spite of our peaceful and friendly conduct they set upon us, and put to death their prisoners who surrendered on promise of their lives.*

- 2 *εἰ ἄρα . . . ἐσελθόντες*, 'if perhaps we *did* (καί) seem to have acted somewhat unfairly in entering your city against the will of your commons.' *τὸ πλῆθος*, the democratic party, opposed to the small oligarchical party which admitted the Thebans.

μήτε . . . τε, 'not . . . but.'

νεωτερίσαι. Explanatory of *τὰ ὁμοῖα*. The infinitive is often so used without an article to explain neuter substantives, more especially neuter pronouns. *νεωτερίζειν* is used, by litotes, of a violent or severe act. Cf. 2. 6. 2 *μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων*.

λόγοις τε πείθειν. The MSS. read *πείσειν* which gives no reasonable meaning. Most editors adopt *πείθειν*, 'to urge.'

ἐπιθέμενοι δέ belongs to both the sentences οὗς μὲν ἀπεκτείνανε and οὗς δὲ διεφθείρατε. It stands first, partly to show that it belongs to both sentences, partly it is opposed to τὰ μὲν ὁμοία οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν.

The two relative clauses οὗς μὲν and οὗς δέ may be taken as object clauses to their verbs ἀλγοῦμεν and δεινὰ εἰργασθε, since both these verbs can be constructed with an accusative. But probably Thucydides conceived these clauses as standing in a freer relation to their verbs. 'For what concerns those whom ye slew we do not grieve so much.'

οὗς δὲ χεῖρας. The Plataeans have been guilty on three grounds, expressed by three participles, the first of which belongs to the object, the other two to the subject of the sentence. But the first is connected by καί with the other two as though it were in the same case.

ὕστερον, as the MSS. stand, must be taken with ὑποσχόμενοι. Translate 'but those who held out their hands to you, and whom you took alive and afterwards promised us to spare, you slew against law, and what a fearful crime is this!' The sentence would give better sense if we wrote ὕστερον after κτενεῖν and took it with διεφθείρατε. Cf. τὸν ὕστερον θάνατον below.

- 3 καὶ ταῦτα τρεῖς ἀδικίας. καὶ ταῦτα, 'and that too,' intensifying the heinousness of the crime. He begins as if πράξαντες belonged to εἰργασθε, 'and that too by committing three misdeeds in brief space.' But the sentence develops as it proceeds, and presently a new verb appears to which πράξαντες must be referred but now in a concessive sense, 'and although you committed—yet you say.' Thucydides doubtless put πράξαντες with both verbs, but grammatically καὶ ταῦτα only has a meaning if πράξαντες belongs to εἰργασθε alone. The obscurity is due to compression.

Some take τρεῖς ἀδικίας in predicative apposition to ταῦτα, 'and having committed these—being three offences,' an unexampled expression. Others change the reading to καὶ ταύτας or κἀνταῦθα.

μὴ κτενεῖν. MSS. κτείνειν. Editors alter to the future because elsewhere in Thucydides ὑπισχνούμαι is always followed by a future.

τὴν ψευσθείσαν ὑπόσχεσιν. Equivalent to τὸ ψευσθῆναι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. Cf. note on 53. 3 ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος. ἡμῖν with ὑπόσχεσιν. The reading ὑπόθεσιν which is found in several MSS. gives no

reasonable sense, and the reference is obviously to the preceding ὑποσχόμενοι.

- 67 *Their past good services aggravate their guilt for they have been false to their own reputation. Their appeals for pity may fairly be disregarded if you consider that we too have suffered much from them. If they are isolated it is their own fault. They are not prisoners who asked for quarter on the field, but they submitted on terms to your tribunal. In condemning them you will make a salutary example.*

1 ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . τετιμωρημένοι. A harsh change of construction as if φαινόμεθα had preceded. There is no manuscript authority for the change to ἡμᾶς τετιμωρημένους.

2 διπλασίας ζημίας. With these words εἶναι must mean 'turn out,' 'involve.'

ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων. Literally, 'because they sin not in accordance with what is fitting to them, as the possessors of παλαιὰς ἀρεάς.' Translate 'because in their errors they are false to their past.'

3 ὧν refers to the collective word ἡλικίαν.

ἐν Κορωνείᾳ. The defeat of the Athenians in Coronea lost them Boeotia.

καὶ οἰκίαι. It is true that we should rather expect αἱ οἰκίαι, and that the symmetry of the sentence, ὧν πατέρες οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ, is spoiled by the intrusion of another subject, but it would be rash to say that the manuscript reading is un-Thucydidean; cf. 3. 98. 4 τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἢ αὐτὴ οὗτοι βέλτιστοι δὲ ἄνδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε διεφθάρησαν where ἡλικία ἢ αὐτὴ is in much the same construction. κατ' οἰκίας has been conjectured. So in 1. 137. 2 we have καὶ ἀξίαν in one MS. for the obvious κατ' ἀξίαν. Translate 'and others who were left behind as old men, and their houses left desolate, make supplication to you with far more justice to punish these men.'

4 οἱ δὲ δικαίως, sc. πάσχοντες.

τὰ ἐναντία, adverbial accusative, 'deserve on the contrary to be an exultation to their enemies.'

5 παρενόμησάν τε. They transgressed under the following conditions: (1) they were not previously injured by us; (2) they came to their decision rather from hatred than from motives of justice; and (3) they do not suffer now an equal penalty in return;

referring to their imminent punishment which might be called a present punishment. There is no need to change the manuscript reading to ἀνταποδοῦσιντες or ἂν ἀνταποδόντες. πλεόν is used for μάλλον.

ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως, 'on terms of capitulation.'

- 6 καὶ ἡμῶν. We should expect a second object after ἀμύνετε, but when Thucydides comes to his second object he changes to a new verb.

καὶ μὴ . . . ἐν ὑμῶν, 'and let us not suffer defeat at your tribunal by their arguments.'

ποιήσατε δὲ . . . γίνονται. λόγων and βραχεῖα are predicative. ἀμαρτανομένων, 'if they contain offence.' For the passive use, cf. 2. 65. 11 ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς. ἔπεσι, 'with *fine* words.' Cf. 2. 41. 4 οὕτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει. Translate 'but show Hellas by an example that the contests proposed by you will be contests not of words but of deeds; if the deeds be good, even a brief rehearsal of them suffices, but if they be deeds of error, speeches set off by fine words are but used to screen them.'

- 7 ἄλλ' ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες. A good and simple instance of a sentence unmistakably modified by the writer's change of purpose. The insertion of ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς, given as an instance, causes the change from the general construction, with which the sentence begins, to the particular. Hence ποιήσθητε instead of ποιήσονται.

κεφαλαιώσαντες, 'summing up in one short question.' Refers to the βραχὺ ἐρώτημα of 3. 54. 2. Cf. 6. 91 πολλὰ παρὲς τὰ μέγιστα κεφαλαιώσω.

πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας must be taken both with κεφαλαιώσαντες and διαγνώμας ποιήσθητε. It was with reference to all the prisoners that the 'short question' was to be put, and with reference to them all that sentence was to be passed. Translate 'if heads of federations, as you are doing to-day, shall sum up in one short question with reference to all alike and so pass sentence, men will be less tempted to seek fine phrases to cloak unjust actions.'

- 68 *The Lacedaemonian judges justify to themselves their 'short question' on the ground that the Plataeans had refused the neutrality demanded of them. So the Plataeans were all put to death, and the city was first given to some Megarian exiles and afterwards levelled to the ground. Out of its ruins was built a lodging-house for pilgrims to the shrine of Hera.*

- I τὸν τε ἄλλον χρόνον, i. e. all along up to the siege.

δῆθεν, 'as they said': ironical. Thucydides here for once gives us a glimpse of his own feelings.

κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παισανίου. In Thuc. 2. 71 we have an account of the treaty of Pausanias. It is said that Pausanias after the battle of Plataea, having called together all the allies, ἀπεδίδου Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεῦσαι τε μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ.

μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον, 'after the Persian defeat.'

καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον . . . ἐδέξαντο. If we retain the manuscript reading καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον ἂ πρὸ τοῦ . . . κοινούς εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνα, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο we must suppose that ὅτε is repeated with a change by ὡς. It is, however, possible that Thucydides wrote κατ' ἐκείνας οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. This would easily be corrupted since σ is used as an abbreviation of ὡς. ἐκείνας will be more suitable to σπονδάς, to which the pronoun obviously refers. With this change we find the Lacedaemonian judges justifying their question on two grounds, one, introduced by διότι ἡξίουσιν, the other by the causal participle ἡγούμενοι.

τῇ αὐτῶν . . . πεπονθῆναι. δικαίᾳ βουλήσει means 'righteous intention.' Others take the words as equivalent to δικαίῳσει, 'rightful claim,' but this is unexampled. The emphatic words in the sentence are ἐκσπονδοὶ ᾗδη, 'thinking they had been injured by the Plataeans at a time when their just intentions had freed them from all former treaty obligations with them.'

τὸ αὐτό goes with ἐρωτῶντες. This peculiar order of words is called the σχῆμα διὰ μέσου.

ἐπότε μὴ φαίεν, 'as each said no.' The mood and negative of indefinite frequency. Translate 'and the Lacedaemonian judges—thinking that the question, whether they had received any service at the hands of the Plataeans in the war, could be rightly put by them, because during all the earlier time they were ever demanding, as they asserted, of the Plataeans to remain at peace according to the old treaty of Pausanias, made after the defeat of the Persians, and because they considered, when afterwards the Plataeans refused the proposal which they made to them before the circumvallation, to be neutral in accordance with that treaty, that they had been injured by them at a time when their just intentions had freed them from all former treaty obligations with them—again brought them up one by one and asked them the same question,' &c.

- 3 ἐνιαυτόν τινα, 'about a year.' So *τις* is sometimes used to qualify numerals.

Θηβαῖοι is a copyist's error. It is clear from the words below καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι that the subject of ἀπεμίσθωσαν is Λακεδαιμόνιοι, and consequently the other words in the sentence as far as this must have the same subject. We know too from another source that the city was destroyed by the Lacedaemonians.

ἐνοικεῖν. Cf. 3. 2. 2 τελεσθῆναι.

διακοσίων ποδῶν, perhaps 'long.' Cf. below νεὼν ἐκατόμπεδον. Others (wrongly) take πανταχῇ with these words '200 ft. square.'

κάτωθεν. These adverbs in -θεν seem to be used exactly like the corresponding adverbs of rest ἄνω, κάτω.

ἐν τῷ τείχει, 'within the wall,' i.e. inside the town. Cf. 1. 62. 6 ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγεν.

- 4 σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν. καί = 'atque adeo,' 'or rather.' 'And it was almost or entirely on account of the Thebans that the Lacedaemonians were so estranged in regard to the Plataeans.'

καθιστάμενον. See note on 3. 3. 1.

69 *The Lacedaemonian fleet which was chased by the Athenians from Lesbos, reinforced by some other ships and by Brasidas, sail for Corcyra which was in sedition.*

- I αἱ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες. See chapter 29.

τότε, 'as then described': often so used by Thucydides to remind us of a point of time in the past narrative.

ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐκ perhaps simply = ὑπό according to Herodotean usage; or it may mean 'by some out of the number of the Athenians.'

σποράδες = σποράδες γενόμεναι. But there is manuscript and scholiast authority for the deletion of καί.

- 2 στασιάζουσιν, 'because it was in sedition.'

δώδεκα μὲν . . . προφθάσωσι, 'since on the one hand the Athenians were in force about Naupactus with only twelve ships, and on the other hand, to get there before, &c.' For the co-ordination of dissimilar clauses cf. 4. 12. 2 ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων.

70 *Certain Corcyrean prisoners return from Corinth to Corcyra primed to bring about a revolt from Athens. The resistance and death of Peithias, and escape of a few of his adherents with the Attic trireme.*

- 1 In the sea fights between the Corinthians and the Corcyreans which took place in the year before the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians had taken 250 prisoners: see on I. 54.

τῷ μὲν λόγῳ . . . διηγγυημένοι. τοῖς προξένοις, dative of the agent. *ταλάντων*, genitive of price: 'professedly because their proxeni had gone bail for them to the amount of 800 talents.' The amount is incredibly large, but was probably never meant to be paid. The proxeni were no doubt in the plot.

μεπιόντες, 'canvassing.'

- 2 *καταστάντων*. The ambassadors, i. e. with the Corcyreans.

κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα. Cf. I. 44. The resolution here taken to be allies with the Athenians *only so far* as the original treaty provided was reactionary, for, since that treaty, the Corcyreans had entered into more intimate relations with the Athenians, and had assisted them in an invasion of the Peloponnese.

- 3 *ἰθελοπρόξενος* was a self-constituted proxenos who received the ambassadors from Athens, although the Athenians had not commissioned him to do so.

τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει. The *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* was a recognized but unofficial personage, like our 'leader of the Opposition.'

οὔτοι οἱ ἄνδρες. The retained prisoners.

- 4 *χάρακας*. In the masculine *χάραξ* is a stake for a stockade, in the feminine a vine-prop as here. The accused were tenants of the sacred ground which probably, from long use, they had come to regard as their own.

στατήρ. If this is the gold coin (20 drachmas) the fine seems incredibly severe; if the silver coin (2 drachmas) the number of vine-props cut must have been very large.

- 5 *διὰ πλῆθος*. Words that express measure or time are often used without an article.

ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδώσιν. In two other places *τάξασθαι* means 'to accept a certain assessment.' Cp. I. 99. 3 *χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν*. 3. 50. 3 *οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι*

ταξάμενοι . . . δύο μνᾶς φέρειν. So here 'accepting a valuation for the stakes.' Some interpret 'that they should pay by instalments,' but that would require κατὰ χρόνους.

τῷ νόμῳ. The statute which forbade the cutting of vine-props from the sacred land. It was probably an obsolete statute which the offenders never thought of. Hence the large number of offences.

6 ἐξείργοντο. Were debarred from paying a valuation.

ὥς ἐτι βουλῆς ἐστὶ. He intended to avail himself of his position as senator, and pass a resolution that would practically rescind the decree mentioned in the earlier part of the chapter.

ἐξαπινάως. This and ἐξαπίνης were the Ionic forms of ἐξαίφνης, which is used by all the Attics except Thucydides and Xenophon. In Thucydides ἐξαπίνης and ἐξαπινάιως appear in the earlier books, ἐξαίφνης, together with αἰφνιδίως, in the later.

71 *The oligarchs then propose a decree of neutrality, compel the assembly to ratify the proposal, and send to Athens to warn the exiles (the friends of Peithias) not to bring about Athenian intervention.*

1 δέχεσθαι after εἶπον, which with the infinitive means 'proposed' or 'ordered': literally 'they spoke for their receiving.'

ἡσυχάζοντας, 'remain neutral,' of the Corcyreans. μιᾷ νηί, 'if they came in a single ship': cp. 2. 7. 2 τὰ τε ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχομένους μιᾷ νηί.

τὸ δὲ πλεόν. We find the article used with cardinal numbers that appear as parts of a whole, and with comparatives regarded as supplementary to a whole.

τὴν γνώμην, 'the proposal.'

2 διδόνοντας ὡς ξυνέφερον, 'to give such account as suited their interests.'

τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφυγότας, 'who were in asylum there'; hence ἐκεῖ not ἐκείσε.

ἀνεπιτήδειον, i. e. to Corcyra.

ὅπως μὴ . . . γένηται gives the motive of πέμπονσι πρέσβεις. ἐπιστροφή, probably 'counter-revolution.' In Polybius it means 'retaliation,' and so perhaps here.

72 *The Athenians arrest their ambassadors. At Corcyra the oligarchical leaders attack the democracy. At first the democracy is overcome, and retires to the high parts of the city and to the Hyllaic harbour.*

1 δσους ἐπεισαν, i. e. all of the Corcyrean exiles.

3 ἰδρύθη, καὶ εἶχον. Cp. I. 13. Ἰ ναυτικά τε ἐξηγνέτο ἡ Ἑλλάς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο.

τὸν Ὑλλαϊκόν. Corcyra had two harbours. The other was named after Alcinous.

καὶ τὸν λιμένα, κ.τ.λ., 'and the harbour near it that looked to the mainland.'

73 *Next day both parties spend in reinforcing themselves.*

74 *In the renewed contest the democracy gains the upper hand, and the Corinthian ship and most of the mercenaries called in by the oligarchs make off.*

2 περὶ δεῖλην ὀψίαν. The afternoon was divided into πρῶτα, 'early,' and ὀψία=late afternoon. Late afternoon was about sunset. ξυνοικίας. Lat. *insulae*, lodging-houses let out like flats to be shared by several families.

ἐκινδύνευσε διαφθαρῆναι, εἰ . . . ἐπεγένετο. ἐκινδύνευσε διαφθαρῆναι is almost equivalent to διεφθάρη ἄν. Similarly χρῆν, ἔδει, &c., are used without ἄν in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. So in Latin *potuit, debuit*, &c. The modal sense is given in the meaning of the verb, and there is no need for ἄν in Greek, or for the subjunctive in Latin.

ἐπίφορος ἐς αὐτήν, 'bearing it to the city.' ἄνεμος ἐπίφορος is used of a favouring wind.

75 *Nicostratus arrives and does his best to reconcile the contending factions. The democrats entreat him to leave some triremes for their protection and undertake to man an equal number themselves. To fill these they enrol oligarchs. But they, fearing they should be taken to Athens, seek sanctuary. The democrats first attempt violence, but, checked by Nicostratus, they subsequently convey the oligarchs to an island opposite the temple of Hera.*

1 ἐπρασσε, 'sought to bring about.'

οἱ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν, parenthetical, 'they however made off.'
 ὥστε, gives the terms.

- 2 ἐνυπέμψειν depends on some implied verb of promising.
 3 κατέλεγον, 'enrolled for service.'
 4 ἀνίστη καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο. The tense expresses his wish and endeavour.

ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν . . . ἀπιστίᾳ, 'on the pretext that their mistrust to sail with them argued evil intentions.' τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ gives the grounds for suspicion. μή is added, as is common, though not necessary, after verbs of distrusting, to strengthen the negative in the principal verb.

- 5 μή τι νεωτερίσωσι, 'lest they should resort to violence.'

76 *Arrival of Peloponnesian fleet under Alcidas with Brasidas.*

- 1 αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες. Cf. 3. 69.
 ἔφορμοι οὐσαι. Nowhere else is ἔφορμος used as an adjective. Perhaps we should read ἐφ' ὅρμῳ. In any case translate, 'who had been at anchor there.'

ἐς Σύβοτα. This Sybota is distinct from the islands so called. It was a harbour of Thesprotis.

77 *The Corcyreans man their ships in confusion, and in spite of the advice of Nicostratus send them out one by one as they are ready. The Peloponnesians detail twenty ships to meet these, and direct the rest of their ships against the Athenians.*

- 1 πολλῶ θορύβῳ καὶ πεφοβημένοι. Cf. note on 3. 69. 2.
 οἱ δέ. The democratic party in Corcyra.
 τὰς ἀεὶ πληρουμένας, 'as they were successively manned.'
 ἐκείνους. The Corcyreans.
 ἐπιγενέσθαι, 'to come afterwards.'
 2 ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς . . . τῶν ποιουμένων, 'and the operations were disorderly.'
 3 αἱ δύο. See note on 3. 71. 1 τὸ πλεόν. The Salaminia and Paralus were usually reserved for state service, more especially of a sacred character.

78 *The Athenians charge a wing and sink one ship. On the Peloponnesians being reinforced the Athenians back water, concentrating the Peloponnesian attack upon themselves to give the Corcyreans time to escape, and escaping themselves by superior tactics.*

- 1 κατ' ὀλίγας, 'in small detachments at a time.'

ἐταλαιπώρουν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς. The MSS. read ἐταλαιπωροῦντο καθ' αὐτοὺς, i. e. by themselves alone. The conjecture embodied in the text gives a better sense, and is more like Thucydides; 'in their part of the battle.'

ἀθρόαις μὲν οὐ. The Athenians refrained from attacking the centre of the Peloponnesians ranged against them, but concentrated all their force in an attack on one of the wings, where they sank one ship.

κύκλον ταξαμένων αὐτῶν, 'when the Peloponnesians had drawn themselves up in a circle,' lit. had drawn up for themselves a circle. Cf. 2. 83. 5 ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν.

- 2 δέσαντες μὴ ὄπερ. The Lacedaemonians had adopted this formation at Naupactus (2. 83. 5), and the Athenians sailed round them till the wind rose and threw the Lacedaemonian fleet into confusion. Then the attack was made.

- 3 καὶ ἅμα. And together with their own retreat. The Athenians escaped by superior tactics.

ὅτι μάλιστα must be taken closely with προκαταφυγεῖν.

ἐαυτῶν. For this change to genitive absolute cf. 3. 22. 1 προσέμειξαν τῷ τείχει λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας, ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν οὐ προῖδόντων αὐτῶν.

3. 13. 7 βοηθησάντων ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν προσλήψεσθε. We should expect ἐαυτῶν τε. The original design of the sentence is changed.

- 4 ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν, 'lasted till sunset and then ended.'

79 *The Corcyreans, fearing attack, move their prisoners from the island to the temple of Hera. The Peloponnesians, in spite of their victory and of the advice of Brasidas, are afraid to attack the city and retire to Leucimne.*

- 2 κρατοῦντες, 'though conquerors.'

- 3 πόλιν . . . ὄντας. Cf. note on 3. 72. 3.

80 *The Corcyreans man thirty ships (persuading even some of the oligarchs to come on board), but the Peloponnesians, learning by fire-beacon the approach of an Athenian fleet, make off.*

1 ὅμως, 'in spite of their defeat.'

2 μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας. μέσον is the substantive μέσον.
ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν, 'were signalled by fire-beacon from Leucas to be sailing to Corcyra.'

81 *Massacre of the oligarchs by the democrats, and utter demoralization of social life.*

1 ὑπερενεγκόντες. By the help of the ὄλκοί, which we hear of in c. 15.

2 λαβόντες τοὺς τε Μεσσηνίους. λαβόντες has been suspected on various grounds. Its position is certainly suspicious, as there is no obvious reason for the misplacement of τε. λαθόντες has been suggested—meaning that the Demos did not wish their opponents to suspect, in this movement, their design of a general massacre.

τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ τινα λάβοιεν, i. e. any of their enemies who remained in the city as opposed to those in the ships. Hence, for the sake of contrast, the emphatic position of ἐκ τῶν νεῶν.

ἀπεχρῶντο, 'dispatched,' a meaning it bears here only. But cf.

1. 126. 11, where the best MS. has ἀπεχρήσαντο for διεχρήσαντο, and Suidas quotes a line of Aristophanes where the word has this meaning. We find καταχρήσθαι used in the same sense. The MSS. have the unmeaning word ἀπεχώρησαν, but Dionysius, quoting the passage, reads ἀνεχρῶντο.

3 ἀνηλούντο, 'destroyed themselves.'

4 τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν . . . καταλύουσιν. The simplest explanation of these words is to take τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν in apposition to αὐτοῖς understood, as though Thucydides had written αἰτιώμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπεκάλουν τοὺς τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντας, 'accusing them as those who were endeavouring to subvert the democracy.' Others take them 'they killed those who were reputed to be their enemies, bringing the charge indeed against those who were for subverting the democracy (i. e. of doing so), while some also, &c.' But the charge was brought against all their political opponents, not against part. Others translate 'bringing the charge that justified their execution against those, &c.,' but that is more than there is in the Greek. It is tempting to read ὥς for τοῖς, but it has no manu-

script authority. Mr. Forbes suggests that the obscurity is due to the fact that τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσι is a bit of regular political slang which Greek readers would instinctively 'put in inverted commas.'

ἀπέθανον δέ τινες, a slight anacoluthon. We should naturally expect another participial clause, such as ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἀποκτείνοντες.

ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων, 'by those who had borrowed the money.'

- 5 οὐδὲν ἔτι . . . περαιτέρω. 'Everything and more than everything happened.' περαιτέρω stands as an adjective.. A similar expression occurs in Aristoph. Thesm. 705 ταῦτα δῆτ' οὐ δεινὰ πράγματα' ἐστὶ καὶ περαιτέρω ;

82 *Political reflections occasioned by the revolution in Corcyra.*

- 1 ἡ στάσις. The article is needed, though it is not found in the MSS., since the στάσις has already been mentioned.

ὤμῃ, predicative, 'to such fierceness the party conflict advanced.'
With μάλλον understand ὤμῃ.

ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ. See note on 3. 17. 1.

καί, 'even.'

ὡς εἰπεῖν qualifies πᾶν, 'almost all the Hellenic world.'

διαφορῶν οὐσῶν . . . ἐπάγεσθαι. The infinitive signifies the end or object of the efforts implied in διαφορῶν. See note on 3. 2. 2. Translate 'as quarrels in every state fell out between the leaders of the democracy, who strove to call in the Athenians to aid them, and the oligarchs, who were for summoning the Lacedaemonians.'

καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ, κ.τ.λ. With the ordinary punctuation (given in the text) we notice a participle and finite verb opposed to one another by μὲν and δέ. Such an anacoluthon, though a harsh one, is not impossible in an author who, as we have seen, was apt to let the sentence change as it proceeded, careless of grammatical accuracy so long as the thought was kept clear. A similar anacoluthon is quoted from Plato, Symp. 220 πάντων οὐκ ἐξίστων ἐνδοθεν . . . οὗτος δὲ ἐξίει. Editors who deny Thucydides this freedom of expression change ἐτοίμων to ἐτόλμων. One editor puts a comma after Λακεδαιμονίους and a colon after πολέμουμένων δέ.

οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων. ἂν because ἐν εἰρήνῃ = εἰ εἰρήνῃ ᾗν. The subject of ἐχόντων is the two parties in the various states. With ἐτοίμων supply ὄντων.

πολεμουμένων δέ, κ.τ.λ. The impersonal use of the neuter plural. Cf. I. 8. 2 πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους. Probably it is the middle of πολεμείν, 'when war prevailed.' Others take it from πολεμώω, 'as the cities became involved in war.'

καὶ ἅμα, 'at the same time also,' 'it naturally followed that.' War brought the opportunity for making alliances. This is a notable example of the way in which Thucydides, as he proceeds with his sentence, fills out his original design. ξυμμαχίας, as the dominant word, stands first. Strictly it depends upon αἱ ἐπαγωγαί, but it is put with προσποιήσῃ, which could scarcely stand absolutely. ἑκατέροις refers to the two parties, and is afterwards defined more nearly by τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις. προσποιήσῃ and κακώσῃ are datives of purpose. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς depends on the verbal substantive προσποιήσῃ. Translate 'now while there was peace the parties would neither have an excuse nor be willing to call on them, but when war prevailed, therewith too for either party (for the injury of their enemies and for gaining alliance for themselves by the same act) the procuring of allies was easy and at their service, as they wished for revolution.'

2 γιγνόμενα in meaning = οἷα γίγνεται.

μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαιότερα. With μᾶλλον supply γιγνόμενα. καί = 'or.'

Note the co-ordination of adverb and adjective. It is an extreme instance of the historian's tendency to couple expressions not grammatically co-ordinate: cf. I. 63. 1 παρῆλθε βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. 7. 32. 2 ἀφυλάκτοις τε καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιγενόμενοι διέφθειραν. It has been conjectured unnecessarily that ἡσυχαιότερα is a corruption of ἡσσον and some adjective. Translate 'but occurring with more violence or greater mildness.'

καὶ τοῖς εἰδεσι διηλλαγμένα, κ.τ.λ., 'differing in form according as the changes of circumstances severally present themselves,' i.e. differing with every new combination of circumstances. διαλλάσσω is seldom so used in the passive. In 3. 10. 1 we have the active in this sense, ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσουντι τῆς γνώμης. ξυντυχία, 'conjuncture,' is a word of which Thucydides is fond.

ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας. Into straits where free will ceases to exist.

τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν, 'the easy supply of daily needs.' τοῦ for τῶν is unusual.

καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα . . . ἄμοιοι, 'and for the most part subdues men's tempers to their environment.'

- 3 ἑστασίαζε τε οὖν. The following sentence is found quoted in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with certain alterations, but all the alterations are obvious corrections of harsh or unusual expressions by easy and usual ones. Hence we infer that the text possessed by Dionysius was a corrected copy. For *πίστει* he reads *ἐπιπύστει*, a word which would mean 'after intelligence,' a meaning which is not wanted, and the word occurs nowhere else. The *ἀποπύστει* which is found in two MSS. was due perhaps to the dittography of the preceding *ἡπον*.

τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντα, a periphrasis, like τὰ τῶν πόλεων, for αἱ ἐφυστερίζουσαι πόλεις.

πίστει τῶν προγενομένων, 'by hearing of the revolutions that had taken place previously.'

πολύ. Adverb, as in πολὺ νικᾶν. ἐπέφερε, 'carried further.'

τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας, 'the extravagance of forming new designs.' Translate 'carried much further the extravagance of the revolutionary spirit.'

τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων . . . ἀτοπία, 'by the excessive cunning of their enterprises, and the atrocity of their revenges.' περιτέχνησις is a word only used again by late writers. ἐπιχειρήσεις attacks on political opponents.

- 4 τὴν εἰωθῦναι . . . τῇ δικαίῳσει. ἀξίωσις is the objective meaning of words, as opposed to δικαίωσις the subjective interpretation of them. ἀξίωσις has ordinarily a subjective sense, signifying a claim based on merit. ἐς τὰ ἔργα can be taken with both ἀντήλλαξαν and ἀξίωσιν. Translate 'they changed by their interpretation the accepted meaning of words in regard to things.'

φλέταιρος. An allusion to the clubs (ἐταιρεῖαι) of which we hear so much but know little. They seem to have been mainly societies framed in the oligarchical interest which secured the election of their own candidates to magistracies. They played a great part in the revolution of the 400.

τὸ δὲ σῶφρον, κ.τ.λ., 'moderation was a mask of pusillanimity, and general intelligence was counted as general want of enterprise.' The man who looked into everything 'too clearly' would be slow to commit himself to action.

τὸ δὲ ἐμπλήκτως, κ.τ.λ., 'frantic zeal was attributed to, set down as the part of, a *true* man.'

ἀσφαλεία δὲ . . . εὐλογος. Most MSS. have ἀσφάλεια. How then should we construct τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι? (a) The words should mean 'caution in plotting against the other side,' but no such meaning can be derived from the words as they stand unless we adopt τοῦ from one inferior MS. (b) Some editors supply ἐνομίσθη, and translate 'to plot against an enemy was accounted caution, that is, a specious pretext for self-defence'; but the sense is poor and the construction unlikely. (c) It is better then to adopt the reading given in the text which is supported by two important MSS. and by the scholiast. ἀσφαλεία which is put first for emphasis is equivalent to ἀσφαλῶς and qualifies τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι. But with this reading we must find appropriate meanings for ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι and ἀποτροπή. In 3. 20. 1 ἐπιβουλεύειν is used for the simple βουλεύειν and it would seem that the middle is used in the same sense here; 'to form plans cautiously.' ἀποτροπή must be taken as the substantive, not of ἀποτρέπειν but of ἀποτρέπεσθαι, meaning 'desertion,' 'evasion.' Translate 'to form plans cautiously was considered a specious pretext for desertion.'

5 δ μὲν χαλεπαίνων, 'the violent man.'

ἐπιβουλεύσας δὲ τις τυχὼν . . . καὶ ὑπονοήσας, 'if a man was successful in his plots . . . and in suspecting plots against himself.' With ξυνετός and δεινότερος supply ἐνομίζετο.

προβουλεύσας δὲ ὅπως. αὐτῶν refers to τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύσαι and ὑπονοῆσαι, 'he who plotted from the first to have no need of plots or suspicions of plots.'

διαλυτής does not occur again in good writers.

τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον, sc. κακὸν δρᾶν.

6 ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο, 'formed a tie less close.' τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ, 'than club or party spirit.'

διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον, sc. τὸ ἑταιρικόν.

οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων . . . πλεονεξία. If the MSS. reading ὠφελίας is retained the meaning must be 'such associations were not formed in accordance with the advantage of the established laws, but contrary to the constituted laws and for greed.' A better sense would be given if we adopted the conjecture ὠφέλεια, a conjecture that is favoured by the paraphrase of Dionysius. ὠφέλεια

would exactly balance *πλεονεξία*. 'Such associations were not found on the side of established law for a salutary end, but, &c.'

τάς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις = *τάς ἐς ἀλλήλους πίστεις*, 'they found the security of their mutual pledges not in the divine law.'

- 7 *τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων . . . γενναιότητι*. The interpretation depends on the subject we choose for *προύχοιεν*. If the subject is *οἱ ἐναντίοι*, *ἐργων φυλακῇ* will mean 'with a watchful eye to the enemy's actions if the enemy be the stronger, not with generous confidence,' and this is the most satisfactory rendering. Others explain *ἐργων φυλακῇ*, 'protecting themselves by actions if they be the stronger'; and take *οἱ ἐνδεχόμενοι* as the subject of *προύχοιεν*.

ὄρκοι ξυναλλαγῆς. The true genitive has its accustomed adjectival force when found with a noun, 'reconciliation-oaths,' 'oaths that had reconciliation for their object.'

πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον, 'in view of their helplessness.' *ἐκατέρωθι διδόμενοι*, 'sworn by either party.' *ὄρκον διδόναι* is usually to 'exact an oath,' but it occurs in the present sense occasionally. *ἐχόντων* agrees with the parties implied in *ἐκατέρωθι*, 'so long as the parties found strength in no other source.'

ἐν τῇ παρατυχόντι, 'when opportunity offered': cf. I. 122. 1 *πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον*.

ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι, 'he who was first to gain confidence.' Nowhere else does Thucydides use the infinitive instead of the participle with *φθάνω*. The construction occurs once or twice in Aristophanes, and becomes more frequent in later writers.

διὰ τὴν πίστιν. Because his adversary relied on his pledge.

ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς, 'than if he had attacked him openly,' an expression peculiar to Thucydides. It is easy to supply a verb with *ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς* from the context.

καὶ τὸ τε ἀσφαλές ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι, 'and he reckoned up, took into consideration, not only the safety of this course but also the fact that.'

ξυνίσσεως ἀγώνισμα, 'a prize consisting in the reputation of ability.' So in I. 33. 2 *ἀρετῇ* means 'reputation for virtue.' *ἀγώνισμα* is used by Herodotus in this sense.

ῥῶν δὲ οἱ πολλοί. The difficulty of the sentence lies in the construction of *ὄντες*. It may perhaps be taken with *κέκληνται*. Krüger quotes from Menander *ἐαυτὸν οὐδεὶς ὁμολογεῖ κακοῦργος ὢν*, and from

Xen. Cyr. 1. 2. 2 φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς . . . τοιαύτην ἔχων διαμνημονεύεται. In this case ῥᾶον means 'more readily.' Translate 'most men more readily allow themselves to be called clever knaves than virtuous fools.' Or, better, we may repeat ὄντες with ἀμαθείς; 'most people more easily, when dishonest, gain credit for cleverness, than for goodness, when simple.'

τῷ μὲν, by Chiasmus, 'the latter.'

8 ἀρχή, 'love of power.'

ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ. The predicate of the sentence must be supplied, αἷτιον ἦν. τὸ πρόθυμον, 'passionate zeal,' is evidently used here of zeal for party. With καθισταμένων supply τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Translate 'and keen party spirit also, born of these motives, when men have once got to enjoy the conflict.'

οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες. ἐκάτεροι the leaders of the democracy and the leaders of the oligarchy. μετ' ὀνόματος εὐπρεποῦς, 'by using specious names.' These words are then enlarged in the following sentence which describes for what names the leaders professed preference. προτιμήσει, 'by giving preference to,' answers to μετ' ὀνόματος, but is in a different construction. ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς equality of citizens before the law. αὐτοκρατίας σάφρονος, 'the sober government of the best,' a title arrogated to itself by oligarchy which claimed σωφροσύνη as its characteristic feature. The meaning is that the leaders of either faction used specious substitutes for the bold names democracy and oligarchy. Translate 'those who became leaders in the states, employing specious names in either faction, as they preferred the civic legal equality of the many or the sober government of the best, made prize of the common interest which they professed to serve.'

ἐτι μείζους. In reference to τὰ δεινότερα, hyperbolical.

οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου . . . προτιθέντες. προτιθέναι ζημίαν to set forth a penalty, affix it. Cf. 3. 44. 3 ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμφέρον ἔσσεσθαι . . . θάνατον ζημίαν προθείσι. Diony. Hal. is the only authority for προσιθέντες, which is adopted by some editors. The meaning is that they did not affix their penalties within the limits set by justice and the interests of the state.

ἐς δὲ τὸ . . . ὀρίζοντες. ἐς, 'in accordance with.' ἡδονήν has reference to the pleasure of revenge. 'But determined them by the prevailing humour on either side from time to time.'

ἢ χειρὶ κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν, 'or in the effort to win power by force.' The second alternative, as often, takes a new construction.

ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν, of inconsiderate recklessness, 'it cost them nothing to gratify to the utmost the animosity of the moment.'

εὐσεβεῖα . . . ἐνόμιζον. In giving to νομίζω the meaning and construction of χρῆσθαι Thucydides is following Herodotus. Cf. Her. 4. 63 ὅσι οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι. 4. 117 φωνῇ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ. Cp. Thuc. 2. 38. 1 ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίους νομίζοντες.

εὐπρεπεῖα δὲ λόγου. Both parties were equally regardless of conscientious motives. The only distinction between them was made by the specious arguments used by one or the other to colour odious acts. Translate 'but specious arguments won higher repute for those whom it befell to effect some odious purpose.' As the text is punctuated we must take εὐπρεπεῖα λόγου with the relative clause, which gives a weaker sense.

τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν. Those who took neither side. In 8. 75. 1 they are called οἱ διὰ μέσου.

φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι, 'grudging that they should come out safe.'

83 *Further description of the evils of party strife.*

- 1 καὶ τὸ εὐηθές, κ.τ.λ., 'and simplicity of which the noble nature most largely consists.'

τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι. The perfect denotes the *attitude* of antagonism, the abiding results of a past action. διήνεγκεν stood out from others, 'prevailed.' ἐπὶ πολὺ, 'far and wide.'

- 2 λόγος ἐχυρός, 'trustworthy promise.'

κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες . . . ἐδύναντο. This difficult passage has been variously explained, but no explanation is fully satisfactory. (a) One editor translates κρείσσους ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον, 'better at despairing of,' under the evil guidance of a scholiast who glosses κρείσσους ῥέποντες. (b) Another takes τοῦ βεβαίου for ἢ τῷ βεβαίῳ and translates 'as all men found more strength to meet the unexpected in calculation than in the security of a pledge.' But (c) it is evident that τοῦ βεβαίου goes with ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον, and that these words refer to the previous sentence οὐ γὰρ ἦν, &c., and the sentence is intelligible enough without κρείσσους ὄντες, 'all men in their calculations in view of the hopelessness of any security were rather careful not to suffer

disaster than were able to trust (any assurance).’ *παθεῖν* is used absolutely in 3. 38. 1; cf. also 2. 42. 4 *καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν*, and it is easy to supply an object for *πιστεῦσαι* from the previous sentence. But what is the meaning of *κρείσσους ὄντες*? Some interpret ‘when stronger than their enemies,’ as though it were the strong who had a particular reason to take heed lest they should fall. Perhaps the words *κρείσσους ὄντες* contain corruption, and the true reading was some word that the gloss *ρέποντες* would fit. The infinitive after *προσκόπουν* instead of *ὅπως* with the future is unusual.

- 3 οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην, ‘inferior minds.’

τῷ δεδιέναι, ‘owing to their fear.’

μὴ λόγοις . . . προεπιβουλευόμενοι, ‘lest in the war of words they should be outmatched by them, and in the war of plots should be the first to suffer outstripped by their nimble intellects.’

- 4 καταφρονοῦντες, ‘thinking in their pride that.’ Similarly we have *καταφρονεῖν* used in Herod. 1. 66 *καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι*.

γνώμη, ‘by wit.’

μᾶλλον, ‘more than the others.’

- 84 The genuineness of this chapter has been disputed by most modern editors. In this they have followed the scholiast who writes that all commentators regarded the chapter as spurious owing to the obscurity of the style. Dionysius of Halicarnassus who has made a transcript of the rest of the digression stops here; and the old grammarians quote nothing from it. Expressions occur in it which seem to belong to a much later age. At the same time it seems to have been known to Josephus and Dio Cassius.

- I δ’ οὖν, resumptive, ‘however that may be.’

αὐτῶν has a general, rather indistinct reference to the events narrated in the previous chapter.

προτολμήθη, ‘were dared there before anywhere else.’

καί, ‘even.’

ὅπῃ . . . δράσειαν. Is this the optative of indefinite frequency?

It might appear so from the tense of *παρασχόντων*, but in the next sentence we find *ἄν*, and the general context rather requires the meaning ‘all that men would be likely to do.’ This would

necessitate *ὁπόσ' ἄν*, which some editors read. *ὑπὸ τῶν . . . παρασχόντων* depends on *ἀρχόμενοι*, 'ruled over by men who suffer punishment.' If we read *ὁπόσ' ἄν* it is difficult to account for the tense.

πενίας δέ, κ.τ.λ. The verb of the sentence is *γινώσκουσιν ἄν*.

μάλιστα δ' ἄν διὰ πάθους, ἐπιθυμοῦντες. The *ἄν* belongs to *γινώσκουσιν*. *διὰ πάθους*, 'passionately,' unclassical. *πάθος* in Thucydides always means misfortune. Some take the words with *ἐπιθυμοῦντες* and translate 'and men are brought by misfortune to covet their neighbours' goods.'

οἱ τε μή. τε introduces a third class.

ἀπὸ ἴσου, 'from a position of equality.'

ἐπέλθοιεν. Supply *ἄν* from the previous part of the sentence. Translate 'Now, in Corcyra, most of these deeds were dared for the first time—also the crimes that men would perpetrate who were revenging themselves because they had been governed not with moderation, but with insolence, by men who now paid the penalty, and the dishonest designs men would form in their wish to get rid of their habitual poverty, and especially in their passionate desire to possess their neighbours' goods, and the fierce implacable onslaughts men would make who attack not from covetousness, but as equals upon equals, carried away very far by undisciplined passion.'

- 2 *ἔς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον* seems to mean 'up to this point,' but it is a strange meaning to give the words, at any rate in Thucydides.

ξυνταραχθέντος καὶ κρατήσασα. Another instance of the co-ordination of words not grammatically co-ordinate.

εἰωθῦα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν. The meaning we expect, and that the writer wishes to convey, is 'human nature that is accustomed to do wrong even in the teeth of the laws, i.e. even during the reign of law, much more when it has trampled law under its feet.' But to a Greek these words would mean simply 'to do wrong against the law,' which is not the sense required. The writer is using the preposition in a sense that it perhaps bore in later Greek.

πολεμία τοῦ προύχοντος, 'the foe of anything better than itself.'

οὐ γὰρ ἄν, 'for otherwise they would not have.'

ἐν ᾧ μή . . . τὸ φθονεῖν = εἰ μή ἐν τούτῳ, 'had not envy herein possessed a pernicious power.'

3 ἀξιοῦσί τε . . . αὐτῶν. The writer passes to a general reflection. τε is inferential, 'and so.' τοὺς κοινούς νόμους. The laws of common humanity. περὶ τῶν τοιούτων. Quarrels between fellow-citizens. ὑπολείπεσθαι transitive: cf. I. 140. 4 μηδ' ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε. εἴ ποτε, 'against the chance that ever.' Translate 'and so the universal laws that prevail on these subjects, from which there is a reserve of hope for all men, though they fall into misfortune, that they will yet themselves be saved, men dare to be the first to repeal in taking vengeance on their enemies, instead of leaving them in operation on the chance that some one of themselves may hereafter come into danger and need them.'

85 *Departure of Eurymedon. The expelled Corcyreans, who escaped the massacre, took possession of some forts on the mainland belonging to Corcyra and harried the island from them. They afterwards crossed over to Corcyra and established a fortified position on Mount Istone, having burnt their ships to cut off their retreat. They plundered the island for two years.*

1 τοιαύταις, predicate, 'such were the passions that possessed them.'

ταῖς πρώταις. In this first stage of the history of the Corcyrean revolution, as opposed to the subsequent history related in 4. 46.

2 οἰκείας. As belonging to Corcyra.

ἐλθόντο. ἐλήϊζον is found in a good many MSS., and occurs again in 4. 41. 2; but the active is found in no other writer, and the best MS. (C) has the middle.

3 τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν. The formula ἄλλο τι ἢ is commonest in questions, equivalent to *nonne*. So τί ἄλλο ἢ; There is always an ellipse of some verb which can easily be supplied in thought. Here it is ποιεῖν.

86 *The Athenians send twenty ships under Laches to Sicily to help the Leontines against the Syracusans; partly to prevent the importation of food supplies from Sicily to the Peloponnese, partly to make a reconnaissance in view of future designs upon Sicily.*

2 κατὰ τὸ ξυγγένες, both were colonized from Chalcis.

- 3 οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι, 'the Leontini and their allies.'
παίθουσι, 'urge.'
- 4 οἰκειότητος, 'kinship.'
πρόπειραν, a rare word, used by Herodotus.
εἰ, 'to see if.'
ποιούμενοι. We should expect ποιέσθαι. The sentence takes a new form as it proceeds.
- 5 καταστάντες ἐς, 'having established themselves in.'
- 87 *The plague recurs at Athens, and earthquakes take place in various parts of Greece.*
- 1 τὸ παντάπασιν is only here so written with the article. We have, however, analogous expressions in τὸ παράπαν, τὸ ξύμπαν.
ἐκλιπούσα μὲν . . . ἐγένετο δέ. Cf. note on 3. 81. 4.
- 2 ὥστε Ἀθηναίους γε . . . τὴν δύναμιν. Some important MSS. read 'Αθηναίων γε μὴ εἶναι ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν. The reading in the text is the reading of others, save that τούτους appears instead of τούτου. But in C the σ is almost erased. The reading in the text is more likely to be right, as it would be easier to omit than insert ἐπίεσε, and when it was omitted Ἀθηναίους would be changed to Ἀθηναίων to suit the grammar.
- 3 ἐκ τῶν τάξεων, i. e. ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, the roll of those available for service in the three highest property classes.
τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου. The Thetes, resident aliens and slaves, of whom no register was kept.
- 4 οἱ πολλοὶ σεισμοὶ τότε τῆς γῆς. The reading of C is preferable to οἱ πολλοὶ τότε σεισμοί. τότε must be taken with ἐγένοντο. οἱ, 'the well-known.'
- 88 *The Athenians make an expedition against the Lipari islands, but effect nothing.*
- 1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος. The genitive of 'time within which.'
- 2 ἐκ ταύτης δρμώμενοι, 'making this their base.'
- 89 *The Lacedaemonian invasion of Attica is arrested by earthquakes. Thucydides mentions inundations caused by earthquakes, and speculates as to their cause.*
- 2 κατεχόντων, 'prevailing.'

τῆς Εὐβοίας, κ.τ.λ. The MSS. read ἐπελθοῦσα, but the scholiast evidently had ἐπανελθοῦσα which is required by the sense. This is confirmed by ἐπαναχώρησις τις in § 4. κυματωθεῖσα is not used again till the later writers. ὑπένοσθησε is a Herodotean word. κατέκλυσε = κατὰκλυσιν ἐποίησατο. μέρος τι, 'a great part.' Translate 'in Orobiae in Euboea the sea retired from what was then the shore, and, rising in a head of water, encroached on a considerable part of the city, and, though in part it subsided, in part it caused an inundation, and what was before land is now sea.'

3 τοῦ τε φρουρίου, 'part of the fort.'

5 αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω. The subject of ἀποστέλλειν is τὸν σεισμόν which has been drawn into the relative clause. With ποιεῖν the subject changes to θάλασσαν. There is no reason to conjecture ἐπισπωμένης, or to adopt ἐπισπώμενον from the scholiast. What is the construction of αἴτιον? It cannot be masculine, agreeing with σεισμόν, as in that case σεισμός would not have occurred in the relative sentence. We may either say that it is the predicate of the sentence with εἶναι understood, the subject being the infinitive clause (for the more usual τὸ ἀποστέλλειν); or regard it, with one editor, as an accusative in apposition to the sentence. Cf. I. 23. 6 τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν.

90 *Returning to Sicily Thucydides relates the reduction of Mylae and Messene by Laches.*

1 καὶ ἄλλοι. The meaning would be clearer if Thucydides had written ἄλλα for ἄλλοι. To the operations of the Siceliot against one another and of the Athenians aided by their allies, he opposes the most noteworthy successes or reverses of the Athenians with their allies. ἄλλοι is therefore explained by καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιώται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι and is irregularly answered by ἃ δὲ λογόν, &c. The irregularity is no doubt due to a change of the writer's intention.

ἀντιπόλεμοι (Pollux's correction of the MSS. ἀντιπολέμοι) is a Herodotean word that does not occur in Attic again.

2 δύο φυλαί. Civic divisions are kept up in the army.

4 πιστά. Predicative.

91 *An unsuccessful expedition is made by the Athenians against Melos. Afterwards sea and land forces unite in a descent on Tanagra.*

- 3 τῆς Γραικῆς. The MSS. here read τῆς πέραν γῆς. Possibly Oropus, from being situated opposite to Euboea, was so commonly called ἡ πέραν γῆ, that the expression passed into a name. In 2. 23. 3 we have παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραικὴν καλουμένην ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι, and there is some reason to suppose a connexion between Πειραικὴ and ἡ πέραν γῆ. On the other hand Stephan of Byzantium attests that the region was called ἡ Γραικὴ, and on his authority editors have altered the reading here and in 2. 23. 3.

92 *At the request of the Trachinians the Lacedaemonians found the colony of Heracleia near Thermopylae.*

- 3 Δωριῆς, ἡ μητρόπολις. Doris the mother state of the Lacedaemonians : cf. 1. 107. 2.
τῶν αὐτῶν, viz. aid from Sparta.
- 4 γνώμην εἶχον, 'determined.'
τὴν ἀποικίαν. The colony already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πρὸς . . . καθίστασθαι, 'and at the same time they thought the founding of the city was favourable for carrying on the war against the Athenians.' In verbs that signify that something *is being done or made*, the present is used with much the same sense as the future; 'Quod enim fit non est sed erit.' The genitive stands with the adverb καλῶς as in 1. 22. 3 ὡς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχει. 1. 36. 2 τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κείται. The genitive denotes that in respect to which the foundation was favourable.

ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, 'for an attack on Euboea.'

παρασκευασθῆναι ἐν depends on ἐδόκει. We learn from other sources that there was wood in the neighbourhood for ship building.

ἐκ βραχέος, 'from a position quite near.'

τῆς παρόδου. See note just above on τοῦ πολέμου.

- 5 τὸν θεὸν ἐπήρουντο. The oracle was always consulted at the founding of colonies.

- 6 καταστάντες, 'on arriving' or 'setting to.'

εἶρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας, 'they fortified the side looking to Thermopylae, to the actual pass,' i.e. they renewed the old fortifications which the Phocians had established for defence against the Thessalians. The MSS. all, with one exception, read ἤρξαντο κατὰ Θερμοπύλας, which would mean 'they began the works close by Thermopylae, by the actual pass.' But why should they have made the arsenal of the new town at a place so distant as Thermopylae? Moreover the words ὅπως εὐφύλακτα εἶη refer to some fortification of which, with the reading ἤρξαντο, we have no hint.

εὐφύλακτα εἶη. The impersonal use of the neuter plural.

- 93 *Colonists flocked here attracted by the prestige of Sparta, but the colony suffered severely from the hostility of its powerful neighbours and the misgovernment of its Spartan magistrates.*

- I εἰδυσάν, 'took alarm.'

ἀπίβη. Either impersonal or the subject is τοῦτο, the founding of the colony.

- 2 αἴτιον δὲ ἦν. Are we to treat this sentence as paralleled by 3. 89. 5, and take αἴτιον ἦν as the predicate of the sentence οἱ τε Θεσσαλοὶ . . . ἔφθειρον? We have in Dem. 8. 32 αἴτιον δὲ τούτων παρεσκευάσιν ὑμᾶς where however αἴτιον might be an accusative, like τὸ λεγόμενον, standing in apposition to the meaning of the sentence. A better parallel is Aristid. 1. p. 204 αἴτιον δὲ ἦν, οὔτε ἐκείνοι ἄρχειν ἠπίσταντο οὔτε οἱ ἀρχομένοι τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἀπεπλήρουν. It is hardly possible to take αἴτιον ἦν as an independent sentence without a following γάρ or some other particle to relieve the abruptness of the asyndeton. It is possible that this is another example of change of purpose in the writer, who began with a participle in his mind but changed to the finite verb in ἔφθειρον as he proceeded.

οἱ τε Θεσσαλοί. τε according to the scholiast is answered by καὶ ὧν equivalent to καὶ ἐκείνοι ὧν. If the antecedent is ἐκείνοι it will probably refer to the Euboeans or the Oetaeans. But it is impossible to resist the impression that Thucydides intended to give two reasons for the failure of the colony; (1) the hostility of the Thessalians; (2) the misgovernment of the governors. If this

is so, *τε* will be followed by *οὐ μέντοι ἦκιστα*, just as it is sometimes followed by *δέ*. What then is the antecedent of *ᾧν*? Probably the Thessalians, to the injury of whose land the colony was founded. If that is so, *καί* couples two clauses logically but not grammatically co-ordinate.

ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, 'being powerful over these districts,' is a very unusual form of expression. The districts were within their sphere of influence, though technically autonomous.

νεοκαταστάτοις is only found here till we come to later writers.

- 94 *Demosthenes with the Acarnanians ravages the territory of Leucas. He offends the Acarnanians by declining the siege of Leucas, and is persuaded by the Messenians to march against Aetolia.*

- 1 *τῆς Λευκαδίας*. Almost all the MSS. have *Αρκαδίας*, but the sense seems to require the reading *Λευκαδίας* which is preserved in one MS.
- 3 The Messenians were naturally anxious that Demosthenes should invade the Aetolian tribes who were a constant menace to their neighbours. The scheme finally adopted by Demosthenes was first to attack the central Aetolian tribes, to force into an alliance all the tribes between the Ambracian Gulf and Mount Parnassus. With this large continental force he hoped to march through the Ozolian Locrians to Cytinium in Doris, from thence to Phocis, and aided by the Phocians to invade Boeotia. It was unquestionably a great scheme but it miscarried, partly from want of common prudence, partly from the geographical difficulties of an unknown country.

Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολέμοις οὔσι καὶ . . . προσποιήσιν. A good instance of Thucydides' tendency to disregard grammatical symmetry if the thought of his sentence is clear. The two grounds for Demosthenes' action, which, though not grammatically co-ordinate, are connected by *τε*, are clear enough. The Aetolians were the enemies of the Messenians in Naupactus, and Demosthenes had a chance of subduing the other continental tribes of this district. The infinitive *προσποιήσιν* is in Oratio Obliqua depending on the verb of saying implied in *ἀναπείθεται*. Cf. 4. 3. 3 *τῷ δὲ διάφορόν τι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἑτέρου μᾶλλον, λιμένος τε προσόντος καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἰκίους ὄντας . . . πλείστ' ἂν βλάπτειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὀρμωμένους*.

4 διὰ πολλοῦ, 'far apart.'

5 Ἐϋρυτάσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον. Sometimes the relative is attracted into the gender of the following predicate.

ἀγνωστότατοι γλώσσαν. A strange phrase, but the meaning is clear enough.

95 *The details of his plan of campaign.*

1 οἱ ἐδόκουν ξυστρατεύειν. The MSS. have ξυστρατεύειν with one exception M which reads ξυστρατεύσαι. We should probably read ξυστρατεύειν. See note on 3. 24. 1. In the last sentence of the chapter, μεγάλη ὥφελία ἐδόκουν εἶναι ξυστρατεύοντες, the thought is obviously of a future event, and we should expect ξυστρατεύουσι. Perhaps the present is used when the event is regarded as certain.

ἢ κὰν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι. Of a less probable but still possible contingency.

ἤδη, 'at this point.'

οὖν is resumptive.

2 τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν. Cf. I. 137. 4 τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν οὐ διάλυσιν. 5. 50. 3 ἢ οὐκ ἐξουσία.

τοῖς ἐπιβάταις. The epibatae were soldiers serving on shipboard, 'marines.' As a rule they were taken from the Thetes. On this occasion, we learn from c. 98, they included some of the choice hoplites of the muster roll.

96 *He marches into Aetolia and takes several places. The Aetolians muster against him.*

1 χρησθέν . . . παθεῖν. χρησθέν the accusative absolute. The passive participle is used impersonally.

2 τὴν γὰρ γνώμην . . . ὕστερον. οὕτως marks the participle καταστρεψάμενος as emphatic, 'he determined to subdue all the other positions before he advanced against the Ophioneis.' ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας is added as an afterthought. He must also first retire to Naupactus.

3 οὔτε ὅτε . . . ἐπειδή τε. The sentence changes as it proceeds. Instead of the second οὔτε clause, which was intended at first, a positive independent sentence takes its place, as though οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν only had been written.

ἐπεβουλευέτο, sc. ἡ παρασκευή.

97 *Demosthenes takes Aegitium by assault. But the Aetolians who had collected charge down from the hills.*

- 1 τὴν ἐν ποσσὶν αἰεῖ, 'every village that came in their way.'
 2 τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας. The dative gives the grounds of his hope.
 ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων, 'in the neighbourhood of high country.' It does not follow that the town itself was on a high position. The plural χωρίων would be difficult if ἐπὶ meant 'on,' and the city was itself clearly overhung by high ground.

98 *And after a prolonged engagement Demosthenes is defeated with great loss. He is afraid to return to Athens, and remains in the neighbourhood of Naupactus.*

- 1 αὐτοῖς. A dative of general reference. αὐτοῖς are the people interested or concerned. Translate 'on the side of the Athenians.'
 οἱ δέ. The apodosis.
 αὐτοί. The hoplites.
 καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ, 'for quite a long time.'
 αὐτοῖς. See note at beginning of the chapter.
 2 αὐτοῦ, 'those on the spot.' κατὰ πόδας, 'immediately.'
 4 τοσοῦτοι μὲν . . . διεφθάρησαν. τοσοῦτοι and ἡλικία ἡ αὐτὴ stand in predicative apposition to οὔτοι. βέλτιστοι stands predicatively with διεφθάρησαν. ἡλικία the collective singular for the plural means more than ὁμήλικες. ἡλικία was the military age, the prime of life. Cf. 8. 75. 3 οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. 7. 60. 3 ἡλικίας μετέχων. Translate 'in such numbers and all of the same prime these men perished, the best that perished in this war out of the city of the Athenians.' The sentence is very compressed.
 5 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. Gives the motive of his fear.

99 *The Athenians make a descent on Locris and capture a fort on the river Halys.*

100 *At the request of the Aetolians the Spartans send 3000 hoplites against Naupactus under Eurylochus.*

- 1 πρότερον. Probably refers to a time before the expedition of the Athenians. Perhaps, as Arnold suggests, the expedition itself was designed to free the allies of the Athenians from the attacks

of their enemies who were at the same time imploring aid of Sparta.

διὰ τὴν . . . ἐπαγωγὴν. The summoning of the Athenians by the inhabitants of Naupactus to attack the Aetolians. Cf. 3. 94. 3.

- 2 καὶ ξυνηκολούθουν. The so-called ἐφηρημένοι. Cf. c. 109. It was the Spartan custom to send three generals on an expedition that a force might not be left at a loss if a general fell.

101 *Eurylochus marches through the Ozolian Locrians greatly assisted by the Amphissians, who persuaded the other tribes to give hostages and reinforcements to the expedition.*

- 2 διὰ τὸ . . . δεδιότες. In 3. 95. 1 we find the Phocians mentioned as constant friends of the Athenians, although the words ἡ γὰρ βία προσαχθῆναι suggest that they might need compulsion to aid Demosthenes. But in 2. 9. 2 they are mentioned among the allies of Sparta, and in 4. 118. 2 it is intimated that the Spartans were friendly with them. It is probable then that the Amphissians, being enemies of the Phocians, joined the Spartans to save themselves from a combined attack of Phocians and Spartans.

καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι. The MSS. have πρῶτον but the correction is tempting. Thucydides obviously means that they were the first to give hostages themselves and persuaded the others also to give them.

μὲν οὖν, 'accordingly,' without a new verb is unusual.

102 *Demosthenes with a force of Acarnanians throws himself into Naupactus and saves it. Eurylochus marches into Aetolia, where he is persuaded by the Ambraciots to hold himself ready to join in an attack on Amphilocheian Argos and Acarnania.*

- 1 αὐτῶν, 'of the Locrians.'
- 2 καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ is coupled with οἱ μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου implied in γινόμενοι.
- 3 μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας. Aetolia was the source of the disaster. The preposition might even point to his retreat from Aetolia. For this commodious pregnant use cf. 6. 89. 2 τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ξυμφορὰν.
- 4 ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν. What were these ships? We know the thirty ships of Demosthenes' command have returned home (c. 98); and if the Acarnanians possessed ships the fact would not be mentioned so

allusively. But from c. 105 we learn that there were Athenian ships about the Peloponnese which afterwards did the Acarnanians good service.

- 7 τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφείλ. The Aetolians, who had come to join in the attack upon Naupactus, return home.

ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσάμεναις, 'until it should be the right time to bring help to the Ambraciots when they had started on their expedition,' i.e. the right moment is defined by ἐκστρατευσάμεναις.

περὶ τὸ Ἄργος goes with βοηθεῖν.

- 103 *The Athenians with allies attack Inessa in Sicily but are beaten off with loss. Afterwards the Athenians make a descent on Locris and kill 300 Locrians.*

- 1 μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων. The Siceliots or Greek inhabitants of Sicily.

καὶ ὅσοι . . . ξυνεπολέμουν. The order of words in this sentence is clumsy, and possibly ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων is a gloss. ἀρχόμενοι and ὄντες are imperfects, prior in time to ἀποστάντες. αὐτοῖς belongs to ξυνεπολέμουν. Translate 'and all the Sicels who, being formerly ruled by the Syracusans with harshness, and being their allies, revolted from them and fought on the Athenian side.'

ἐπ' Ἰνῆσσαν after ἐπελθόντες. The name is preserved in only one MS., but it is confirmed by 6. 94. 3. When Hiero's mercenaries were expelled from Aetna (founded by him near Catana), they took up an old Sicel site called Inessa, which they christened afresh after the name of their old town Aetna. Thucydides continues to call the town by its old name—Inessa.

τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα. The article, because it was their principal fortress.

- 2 ὑστέρους Ἀθηναίων, 'who were retreating after the Athenians.'

104 *The purification of Delos.*

- 1 The purification of Delos was undertaken probably to propitiate Apollo to whose anger the plague was ascribed.

- 2 τὴν πεντετηρίδα, 'the ancient Delian festival, once the common point of meeting and solemnity for the whole Ionic race, and celebrated for its musical contests, before the Lydian and Persian

conquests had subverted the freedom and prosperity of Ionia—was now renewed' (Grote).

- 3 *ἰθεώρου*, 'they would come to the spectacle.'
χοροὺς ἀνήγον, 'celebrated dances,' lit. led choruses into the presence of the gods.
- 4 *προοίμιον Ἀπόλλωνος*, 'the hymn to Apollo.' The hymns were called *προοίμια* because they were sung before other poems, i. e. used by the rhapsodists as preludes to their rhapsodies.
ἀλλ' ὅτε. Our text of the hymn shows *ἀλλὰ σύ*.
ἀγυιάν. The sacred road leading to the temple.
μνησάμενοι, 'making mention of thee.'
- 5 *τοῦ ἐπαίνου*. See note on 3. 59. 3.
ὑποκρίνασθαι. The infinitive for the imperative.
*ἀφήμω*s. Mr. T. W. Allen in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xvii. p. 245. 6, contends that *ἀφήμω*s is the right reading and gives the better sense. But the natural meaning of *ἀφήμω*s is not what is required here and most editors, with good reason, adopt *εὐφήμω*s.
- 6 *ἐτεκμηρίωσεν*. A word peculiar to Thucydides and the post-classical writers. It is equivalent to *διὰ τεκμηρίου ἐδήλωσεν*.
μεθ' ἱερῶν, 'with sacred observances.'
καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα, 'for quite the most part,' or (better) 'and the greater part of the observances.'

105 *The Ambraciots invade Amphilocheian Argos and take Olpae. The Acarnanians rally to the help of Argos and endeavour to cut off Eurylochus from the Ambraciots. They send for assistance to Demosthenes and the Athenian ships. The Ambraciots summon reinforcements from Ambracia.*

- 1 *ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι κατέσχον*. *ὥσπερ* must be taken only with *ὑποσχόμενοι*, 'in accordance with the promise by which they had detained.' They had persuaded Eurylochus to remain by promising to take part in the expedition.

δ. When an object is governed both by a participle and a verb it is usually put in the case demanded by the nearer of the two.

κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρᾶντο. In 2. 68 where Thucydides relates the founding of Amphilocheian Argos we learn that the Amphilocheians,

when expelled from their city by the Ambraciots, called in the Acarnanians and, aided by them and the Athenians, recaptured Argos. Then he adds *κοινῇ ᾤκισαν αὐτὸ Ἀμφιλόχοι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες*, pointing to the formation of a common league between these two nations. It is tempting to suppose that Olpae, three miles distant, was on this occasion fortified by the Acarnanians, and used as a place of judicial tribunal common to them and the Amphilocheians. This is confirmed by a remark of Stephan of Byzantium, *Ὀλπαι φρούριον κοινὸν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων δικαστήριον*, *Θουκυδίδης τρίτη*. But it is questionable whether *κοινῇ* standing alone can bear this meaning, and it is probable that *καὶ Ἀμφιλόχοι* has fallen out after *Ἀκαρνᾶνες*. The alternative view is that on some other occasion the Acarnanians took possession of Olpae and used it as the common tribunal of *their own* confederacy.

4 *ἐς τὴν πόλιν*. Ambracia.

106 *Eurylochus crosses Acarnania by a forced march and joins the Ambraciots.*

2 *καὶ αὐθις . . . παρ' ἔσχατα*, 'after that along the boundaries of.' Expressions of locality, especially with prepositions, often omit the article.

3 *Ἀγραικόν*. The MSS. have *ἀγροίκον*, but no appropriate sense is conveyed by the word.

107 *Describes the formation of the two armies at Olpae.*

1 *καθίζουσι* is more often transitive in Thucydides.

3 *προσαγαγών* is only here thus used without an object.
περίσχε, 'outflanked him.'

ἡμέρας μὲν πέντε. Either the sacrifices were unfavourable, or neither liked to be the first to force the passage of the steep ravine.

ὅπως κατὰ τὸ . . . γίνωνται, 'in order that these at the very moment of conflict might break out on the rear over against that part of the enemy which overlapped them.'

4 *ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι*. The full phrase would be *ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτατάχατο τεταγμένοι*, and there are places where this expression occurs where we actually find a verb supplied. The meaning is 'severally,' 'one by one.' They were divided by tribes, each under

its own leader. The sentence τὸ δὲ ἄλλο . . . ἐπείχον is grammatically a parenthesis.

οὐ τὸ κέρασ ἄκρον ἔχοντες. ἄκρον is predicative, 'they were not posted on the extremity of the wing.'

108 *Thanks to an ambush set by Demosthenes his forces won the day, and drove the enemy with severe loss into Olpae.*

1 τῷ κέρει, 'with their wing.'

ἐκυκλοῦντο, 'were in act to surround.'

ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομέναι, 'did not stand their ground to resist.' ἀλκή is a poetic word used by Xenophon and Thucydides, not by the other Attic prose writers. Thucydides follows Herodotus, using the word in two senses (1) 'strength' or 'prowess,' cf. 3. 30. 2 (note), and 4. 32. 4 τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ σφενδόναις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκὴν. So Hdt. 3. 110 θηρία ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα. (2) as here 'resistance': cf. Hdt. 2. 45 ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέμενον.

τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον, 'the troops in the neighbourhood of' so 'under the command of.'

τοῦ ἔργου, 'military action,' as often.

ἐπεξήλθον is better supported than ἐξήλθον, which is found in some MSS.

2 ἀπεδίωξαν, 'chased away.' The word is rare, but cf. 6. 102. 3 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδιώξαντων τοὺς ἐκεῖ.

3 σφίσι. As though the sentence ran καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφίσι προσκειμένους.

ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ . . . πλὴν Μαντινίων. This passage is not quite easy. The subject with which ἐπαναχωροῦντες agrees is the Ambraciots and those on the right wing. But when we get to the verb we find that the subject has *expanded* in the writer's mind, for the Mantineans were not on the right wing. Consequently χαλεπῶς διεσφύζοντο and πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν refer to the whole force. What then is the meaning of προσπίπτοντες? It should mean 'making their attack,' and so the scholiast explains it. Yet this is inconsistent with the next clause which relates the orderly behaviour of the Mantineans *in retreat*. Hence some translate 'as they hastened into Olpae': but for this meaning we should rather expect ἐσπίπτοντες.

ἐτελεύτα ἐς ὀψέ. Cf. 3. 78. 4. Some MSS. show ἕως ὀψέ, which is interpreted 'lasted till late and ended late.'

- 109 *The Lacedaemonians make a private treaty with Demosthenes to go off, deserting their allies.*

1 πολιορκήσεται, 'stand a siege': cf. 3. 52. 1.

2 ἀναχώρησιν δέ, κ.τ.λ., 'they made a compact for retreat,' i.e. 'granted retreat by compact.' The accusative expresses the kind of action denoted by the verb: see note on 3. 24. 1.

Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν . . . σπίνδονται. A very rare but natural construction.

τὸν ξενικόν exactly repeats τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον, and may be a gloss. Obviously these are mercenaries of the Ambraciots. The Lacedaemonians would not have left their own behind.

διαβαλεῖν, 'discredit.' We find it also followed by a dative.

χρήζων, 'wishing.' A Herodotean use which occurs in Thucydides only here.

προυργιαιτέρον, comparative of προύργου, 'they counted their own interests of greater moment.'

3 ὥσπερ ὑπήρχε, 'as they had the means,' 'as well as circumstances permitted': usually ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. This cowardly perfidy of the Spartan commander and Lacedaemonian officers was quite in accordance with Spartan tradition. Grote notices it 'as an example of that intra-Peloponnesian selfishness . . . which was found so lamentably prevalent during the invasion of Xerxes; in this case indeed heightened by the fact that the men deserted were fellow-Dorians and fellow soldiers.'

- 110 *Demosthenes, hearing that Ambraciots are coming to reinforce the Peloponnesian and Ambraciot army, sends a force to cut them off.*

- III *The Mantineans and Peloponnesians, with whom the secret treaty had been made, endeavour to withdraw unnoticed. Noticing this the Ambraciots and others hastened after them. The Acarnanians at first suspected treachery and pursued all alike, but on being reassured they allowed the Mantineans and Peloponnesians to get off and killed the others.*

I δῆθεν, 'as they professed.'

δοιοὶ μὲν ἐτύγγανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνεέλθόντες. We must suppose

that the Ambraciots and their allies marched out together, either really to do what the others pretended to do, i. e. gather wood and vegetables, or to serve these as a guard against hostile attack. It is obvious that the whole force did so march out. Otherwise they could hardly have observed the Lacedaemonians making off or have started to catch them. And they succeeded in catching them up as we learn from § 4 καὶ ἦν πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστίν εἴτε Πελοποννήσιος. But there is no doubt that Thucydides has expressed himself obscurely through carelessness or love of brevity. He tells us in a relative clause an important fact which should have been related by itself, and which, it is possible, he thought he had so related, since οὕτως refers back to ἐξεληθόντες as though we had there been told that the Ambraciots also went out. There remain some points of difficulty, (1) ξυνεξεληθόντες, the reading of the best MSS., refers back to ἐξεληθόντες; (2) we find an aorist participle joined with the imperfect of τυγχάνω contrary to the ordinary rule that in this construction the aorist coincides with the time of the principal verb. But it has been shown (see Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, p. 50) that there is a rare combination of aorist participles with present or imperfect of τυγχάνω, φθάνω, &c., where the aorist retains its own reference to past time: cf. Thuc. 8. 105. 3 ἐτύγχανον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θράσυλλον ἐνδεδωκότες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαντες. So here translate 'who happened to have come forth together'; (3) μέν is misplaced. We should expect οἱ μὲν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι answered by οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες.

The passage has been variously corrected: e. g.—

(1) ὅσοι μένοντες ἐτύγχανον οὕτως, ἄθροοι ξυνελθόντες.

(2) ὅσοι μόνουμένοι ἐτύγχανον οὕτως, ἄθροοι ξυνεξεληθόντες.

(3) ὅσοι μὴ ἐτύγχανον τούτοις ἄθροοι ξυνεξεληθόντες.

Of these (2) is best.

3 σφᾶς is used because the speaker was one of those to whom the pronoun refers.

4 πινάς, 'about.'

112 *Demosthenes attacks the Ambraciots coming from Ambracia at the hill Idomene. He surprises them by a night attack and defeats them with great slaughter. The Acarnanians return to Argos.*

1 ἐστὶν. When the subject and predicate of a sentence are of

different numbers, the verb sometimes agrees with the predicate.
Cf. 4. 102. 3 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔκτισαν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, ὅπερ πρότερον Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο.

ἐλαθόν τε καὶ ἔφθασαν προκαταλαβόντες, 'seized unnoticed and unforested.'

τὸν δὲ ἱλάσσω. Nowhere else does Thucydides use the simple accusative after ἀναβαίνειν, a construction which is found in the poets and post-classical writers.

2 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς, 'towards the pass.' The word is so used in Herodotus.

3 ὄρθρῳ. The last watch of the night, just before the dawn.

4 τῇ ὄψει might refer to the Messenians' 'appearance,' or to the Ambraciots' 'eyes.'

7 ἅμα τοῦ ἔργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, 'at the same time when the action was taking place.'

113 *Description of the great slaughter of the Ambraciots and of the herald's surprise who had not heard of the night attack.*

1 ἐνετῆσαν. The imperfect does not express the attempt which, as we have seen, was effective. It relates only to the duration of the action.

3 θαυμάζοι . . . τεθνᾶσιν. The combination of these two words in Oratio Obliqua is not uncommon. The indicative is merely a more vivid form of expression than the optative, with no difference of meaning.

4 οὐκ οὖν τὰ δπλα ταυτὶ φαίνεται, 'these arms then do not look like it.' Some editors expect a genitive with δπλα, and suggest that σ' (= διακοσίῳ) has fallen out.

εἴπερ γε, 'yes, but they are if.'

καὶ μὲν δή. A strong asseveration, 'all I can say is that.'

6 πάθος γὰρ τοῦτο . . . ἐγένετο. Literally 'this, as a disaster, fell upon a single Hellenic city, greatest of all in this war in the same number (i.e. three) of days,' i.e. 'this was a greater disaster than any that befell any single Hellenic city in this war in the same number of days.'

It is clear from what follows that nearly all the fighting population of Ambracia was slain, but it is impossible to appreciate the

full bearing of the comparison here drawn by Thucydides, because in this part of the history, as we have seen, he means by *ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ* the first ten years of the war which ended with the Peace of Nicias.

ἀριθμόν. Taking as the basis of his calculation the number of panoplies given to Demosthenes Grote calculates the number of slain at 6000.

δοῦναι ἀπιστον . . . τῆς πόλεως. *ἀπιστον* is predicative, 'because the numbers which are related to have perished are incredible, that is in relation to the size of the city.'

νῦν δέ, 'but as it was.'

παῖροι. A poetical word only used by Thucydides here. Grote thinks that this was not their only reason for refusing the advice of the Athenians. The same apprehension should have prevented them from asking for Athenian aid to reduce Leucas which was nearer. He suggests that the Acarnanians still resented the former refusal of Athenian aid. It is as likely that since they had asked the Athenians for aid against Leucas they had seen more of them and had come to realize that they might be unpleasant neighbours.

114 *Demosthenes returns to Athens with rich spoils. A treaty of peace is made between the Ambraciots on the one side and the Acarnanians and Amphilochians on the other.*

I *πλέοντα*. On the sea voyage to Athens.

καὶ ἐγένετο ἔμα . . . κάθοδος. For *τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας* the reading of the best MSS. see note on 3. 102. 3. *ἀδεεστέρα*, 'attended with less fear.' *ἀπὸ ταύτης*, 'in consequence of this.' *ἡ κάθοδος* is always used of a return from exile—here of his return from a self-imposed exile.

2 *οἱ περ καὶ μετανίστησαν παρὰ Σαλυνθίου* is the now generally accepted correction of the MSS. reading. Here again with a certain slovenliness of composition Thucydides puts in a relative clause a fact which we should expect to be stated independently. Translate 'whither they had removed from Salynthus.' They needed this permission since they had no ships to take them home by sea.

3 *ἐπὶ τοῖσδε*. The Acarnanians should not be required to assist

the Ambraciots against Athens, nor the Ambraciots to assist the Acarnanians against the Peloponnesian league.

μήτε στρατεύειν . . . βοηθάν δέ, 'they were not to take the field . . . but defend each other's country,' i.e. while the offensive part of the alliance was limited by certain restrictions, the defensive part was to apply under all circumstances.

- 4 Κορίνθιοι. Corinth was the parent state of the Ambraciots.

115 *Fresh attempt of the Athenians in Sicily. Pythodorus their general was defeated by the Locrians and had to retreat.*

- 1 μετὰ τῶν Σικέλων τῶν. The MSS. show μετὰ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν. But, as the Siceliots were divided into two parties of which one favoured the Athenians, the other the Syracusans, it is unlikely that one of these parties would be called simply 'the Siceliots.' On the other hand τῶν Σικέλων might be used alone in the sense required, since far the greater part of the Sicels were allies of Athens and lived inland (ἄνω). In 6. 103. 2 the MS. B has Σικελιωτῶν where Σικέλων is obviously right.

ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα. The most inland parts.

- 2 ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. After the implied 'sent as successor.'

Eruption of Etna.

- 1 δ ρόαξ, 'the lava stream.'
- 2 λίγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει. According to Thucydides τὸ πρότερον ῥεῦμα happened sixteen years before the victory of Hiero mentioned by Pindar in Pyth. 1, i.e. in 478 B.C. But according to the Parian marble the eruption is said to have taken place in 479 B.C. Various explanations have been suggested of the discrepancy, of which the best is that the writer has been less accurate than is usual with him, and has been content to give a round number.

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